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WALLACE AT SHILOH.

DEFENSE AGAINST THE GRANT-SHERMAN CHARGES OF TARDINESS—"FATAL
LETHARGY IN HIGH PLACES."

The persistent charges of guilty tardiness against the Third division at Shiloh church by General Grant, and in a more offensive form by General Sherman, can never be permitted to pass unchallenged by the officers and men of that division, though for General Grant personally their sentiments are not unfriendly. Prior to his paper in the February Century, 1885, he had not published on the subject, but his friends had done so extensively, particularly General Badeau in his military history, opened in 1867. This is emphasized by the article in the Century in a way to which I shall refer below. General Badeau was upon the staff of General Grant in the latter part of the war. He was given the best office in the gift of the administration, the consulship at Liverpool, for the purpose of writing this history—an office that was continued through three successive terms. General Badeau might well be an admirer of the then president; but was in a position much more favorable to become a eulogist than a fair and reliable historian. His patron furnished the author liberally with private papers, and the secretary of war was equally liberal with the public documents. To a large extent the 'Military History,' sometimes styled a life of Grant, was official. General Badeau made an industrious use of his opportunities, always having in mind the reputation of the nation's greatest general. Those who choose to compare the account of the battle

of Shiloh church in the history with that in the Century will be struck not only with the similarity of thoughts and statements, but of style and even language. This could only occur through a common source of information. Those who defend the Third division against the representations of Badeau cannot contest his statements without involving those of General Grant. Nothing is more natural than that Grant and Sherman should be restive under reiterated charges of a want of preparation for a battle, which they insisted would not come on. This is not a criticism upon the plan of the battle, for there was no plan. Nor is it a criticism upon the conduct of the battle after it was an established fact, for it was contested with remarkable skill and tenacity. The anomaly lies in its inception, in which it stands alone in history. No engagement of the civil war or of European wars can be compared with this for disaster on the first day. But General Grant was not stunned by defeat.

The commander of the Third division foresaw an attack, of which the evidences were abundant, and before a cannon was fired on the sixth of April, 1862, or any orders were given, had ordered the Third brigade into line at Adamsville. The other two brigades were also ready to leave Crump's landing and Stony Lonesome. These officers and men are as sensitive as their companions of whatever rank or reputation, and as much entitled to have history written in the interest of truth. General Halleck caused a survey of the field to be made by Colonel Thom of the United States engineers, soon after the battle; General Badeau has preferred to use a field sketch made by Colonel McPherson. Having spent parts of several days, immediately after the engagement, in an examination of the ground in order to make a sketch, I can state that *coup d'œil* sketches are not of much value, except as to the positions of the troops, which a survey cannot determine. Those positions differ according to different authors, owing to the restricted field of view and the intricacies of the ground, such as streams, gullies and thickets. The sketch of McPherson requires many corrections, especially as to distances. Taking Colonel Thom's map, with the log house at the bluff overlooking Pittsburgh landing as a central point, Shiloh Church is about thirty degrees south of west, distant two and one-fourth to two and one-half miles in a right line; to the Owl creek bridge, on the Purdy road, ten degrees north of west, three miles. This was the right of Sherman's line, a brigade commanded by Colonel McDowell resting on the Owl creek bridge. Thence to the river road, where it crosses Brier run, the course is northwest two

miles; to Sherman's right at 3 P. M. one and two-tenths miles. Within these lines lay all the divisions except Prentiss' on the morning of that memorable April day. Reports do not agree very well as to Prentiss' precise position. He was scarcely settled in his camp when it was attacked. It was only on the twenty-sixth of March the division was organized at Savanna, and not put in position until some days later. Some authorities place its left slightly in advance of Sherman's left, its line of tents being across the heads of Oak run. Others have its left thrown a trifle back, the front about at right angles to the ridge road from Monterey and Corinth. The Shiloh church road crosses both Brier run and Oak run, and joins the ridge road at Monterey, about five miles distant. All of the map distances must be increased at least one-fourth, owing to the crookedness of the routes. Prentiss was located by General Grant, or his orders. General Smith was ill at Savanna of a mortal injury. From Prentiss' left to the position of Colonel Stuart, on the Purdy and Hamburg road, at Lick run, the distance is about a mile, the course about east, or at right angles to Sherman and Prentiss, a space in which were no troops. From Pittsburgh landing to Stuart is a few degrees west of south, about one and one-half miles. Hurlbut lay on the east bluff of Brier run, not quite a mile from the landing, and McClernand near the intersection of the Purdy and Corinth road, making an acute angle with Sherman, who was one-half to three-fourths of a mile in his front. The prolongation of McClernand's line intersected the right of Prentiss, obliquely, distant about three-fourths of a mile southeast. Such of our troops as lay on the inner crests of the valleys were in natural intrenchments.

General Badeau characterizes this group of camps as a defensive line of battle. If such were the case there must have been an intent on the part of the officer or officers who arranged it with a design to resist an attack. It lacked, however, the essentials of such a line. It was without a left wing or a centre with their supports, and was not continuous—not for want of troops, but because they were not put in position. No changes had been made for nearly a month, during which General C. F. Smith was in command. He posted his own division and that of Hurlbut around the landing, along the eastern crest of the valley of Brier run. For those divisions only the position was one of natural strength. His right rested on the marshes of Snake creek, along the river road. Hurlbut's left rested on the ridge road, and near the heads of the ravines

which the Confederates reached at the finale of the first day. In their front was a precipitous valley with a rivulet of water and timber. McClelland's command was on about the same level in front of this ravine, in the angle between the Purdy and Corinth roads, something over three-fourths of a mile distant. Beyond him in the same direction lay Sherman, on the eastern crest of Oak run, with a valley like that of Brier run, but not as deep. This position had natural strength capable of easily being made impregnable against three to one.

Prentiss was posted several weeks after the other four divisions had occupied their camps. Before Prentiss was placed there was not the semblance of a line; but a column of three divisions, Sherman's, McClelland's and Smith's, having one division front and three in depth, stretched over a space of a mile and a half or more to the rear. This much vaunted line of battle had the general form of an elongated rectangle with one side wanting. The southerly end facing Corinth, something more than a mile in length, lay along the north side of Oak run, across both roads to Corinth. It was the position nearest the enemy and therefore most liable to attack. The westerly side of the figure was about three miles long resting upon bluffs and ravines of Owl and Snake creeks, from which no attack could be expected. If Oak run was the front, this was the right flank. Its northerly end, properly the rear, was behind Brier run near the Tennessee river, and also about a mile in length. On the easterly side our rectangle was vacancy. About a mile beyond, towards the Hamburg road and Lick creek, also on a road from Corinth, was one brigade taken from Sherman's division. Would any military man regard this as a front of battle?

With the later addition of Prentiss there was a front of two divisions, and if Hurlbut's, by a military fiction, formed a part, he was a mile or a mile and a quarter out of line in the rear. The space between Prentiss, whose left was in air, and Stuart's brigade, on Lick creek, was on a course bent backward to the left. With these last dispositions, not varied until after the rebel guns opened, was there on the field a line of battle?

During the portentous days of Friday and Saturday, Beauregard and Johnston had brought up four divisions from Corinth, forming an offensive line from Owl to Lick creeks, with a picket-line within three miles. Nothing but bad weather prevented their attack on Saturday morning, according to programme. Buell was then farther away than Corinth. No change was made in the position of any of our divisions during these days.

Many regimental and brigade commanders were in a state of great anxiety. It has not appeared that the division commanders were even apprehensive.

Saturday passed and night settled over the army, on the brink of a catastrophe, like sheep without a shepherd. Was it not known that there was an army at Corinth or still nearer? If there was, were its objects not warlike? Or was it expecting that Sidney Johnston would wait on Buell? It is not my present intention to go over the battle of Shiloh Church on paper. These criticisms involve high officials, but would not have been used except in self-defense of the Third division, which those officials have pursued with relentless pertinacity more than twenty years. It can be and has been shown that their charges are not tenable. They and their friends have, during that period, endeavored to throw the blame of the defeat of Sunday upon General Lew Wallace. General Grant has officially stated that the propriety of removing him was under consideration before the battle. He was evidently not a favorite. But a fair and candid investigation, such as General Grant is generally inclined to make, would have shown that Wallace was not lacking in any respect on that day.

Here are specimens of the charges :

Lew Wallace was equally amiss. He who had been upon the ground a month excused himself that he had taken the wrong road. Captain Rowley and Colonel McPherson put him right at one o'clock, and it took him till seven that night to march five miles. (Badeau, vol. 1, p. 80.)

Lew Wallace was put in position on the extreme right, where he should have been eighteen hours before. (P. 87.)

Lew Wallace, to whose shameful tardiness—to call it by no harsher name—was mainly due the cause of the repulse of the first day.—*National Tribune*, March 7, 1863.

In the *United Service Magazine*, January, 1863, is a letter from General Sherman of the same tenor :

I selected that line (about 4 P. M.), in advance of the bridge across Snake creek, by which we had all day been expecting Lew Wallace's division from Crump's landing.

. . . . Lew Wallace's fresh division, only four miles away, was expected each minute.

General Sherman, in his recent *Memoirs*, revives the subject (page 245-7), with particulars :

General Grant visited me about 10 A. M., where we were holding our ground, and said that on his way up he stopped at Crump's landing, and ordered Lew Wallace's division to cross Lick (Snake) creek, so as to come up on my right, telling me to look out for him. . . . We had waited all day for him.

The following is General Grant's statement in the *Century* :

On my way up, after an early breakfast, I directed Lew Wallace to get his troops in line ready to execute any orders. He replied they were already under arms prepared to move.

I reached the front about 9 A. M., . . . directed Captain Baxter to order General Wallace to march immediately by the road nearest the river to Pittsburgh landing. He made a memorandum of

the order. I sent Colonel McPherson and Captain Rowley to bring him up with his division. They found him marching toward Purdy, Bethel, or some point west from the river, farther by several miles from Pittsburgh landing than when he started. . . . I never could see, and do not now see, why an order was necessary farther than to come direct to Pittsburgh landing without specifying the route. It was direct and near the river.

He has since claimed that Baxter directed him to Sherman's right, which is not where I wanted him to go. . . . If he was correct it was a very unmilitary proceeding to join the right of an army from the flank instead of from the base. . . . I presume he thought it would be an act of heroism redounding to the credit of his command and the benefit of his country.

The order was given to Captain Baxter on Sherman's line about ten o'clock A. M., (not 8) and delivered to General Wallace at Stony Lonesome, two miles west of Crump's landing, at twenty minutes past eleven A. M.

What General Grant directed Captain Baxter to say or to write, or what he said to General Sherman, are matters to be settled not by General Wallace. Neither is he responsible for the condition of the battle at half-past eleven o'clock. When Captain Baxter left, Sherman's line had not been crowded back. Baxter knew no more about its being driven in than we did; and, therefore, said nothing on that subject. Neither himself nor his order referred to Pittsburgh landing or the river road.

Colonel Ross' statement:

About eleven o'clock A. M. Captain Baxter handed me a paper which read and said you (Wallace) will move on the Purdy road, form at right angles to the river, and act according to circumstances.

General J. A. Strickland's statement:

At half-past eleven or fifteen minutes to twelve, a person rode up to General Wallace with orders to move. The movement began in ten minutes.

Statement of Captain Fred. Knefler, A. A. General:

It must have been twelve M. when Captain Baxter arrived with orders bringing the cheering intelligence that our army was successful. . . . It was a written order to move and form a junction with the right of the army, which we understood to be the right as it rested in the morning.

Captain A. D. Ware's statement:

At twenty minutes to twelve an order was delivered by Captain Baxter to move to Sherman's right on the Purdy road. The head of Wallace's column was in sight of the field, when Captain Rowley and Colonel McPherson overtook it, telling quite a different story from Captain Baxter.

On the way up in the morning General Grant and General Wallace agreed that the probabilities of an attack were upon Adamsville, where my brigade lay, five miles from Crump's, nearly west on the road to Purdy. We were, on this theory, not ordered to move until two P. M. and after the distressing news of the last set of messages. At that hour both the camps of Sherman and Prentiss were in the possession of the enemy. After a most heroic combat they were compelled to yield. W.

H. L. Wallace, McClernard, Hurlbut, Sherman and Prentiss were all then in the new line, which was shorter and more compact, but from three-fourths of a mile to a mile nearer the river. About four p. m. this line gave way, after a resistance worthy of veterans, and the day was lost. To make the Third division responsible for this disaster is certainly not generous, nor is it correct history. Wallace is blamed for not facing about and marching left in front across to the river road. In those thickets, swamps and ravines, if the reversed column had been attacked, confusion would have been inevitable. If it had reached the field unmolested there must have been a halt to get the division right in front, and as much time lost there as there was on Snake creek. A party which I sent out soon after the battle to examine the cross routes toward Purdy, reported the distance from Stony Lonesome to the upper Snake creek bridge, half a mile below the mill, to be about five miles. How far it is back to the route leading across to the river road, and the lower crossing, was not reported, nor the distance to the river. Each of these distances may be one and one-half or two miles, and thus the march to the lower crossing would be eight to nine miles, besides the distance across Snake creek bottom.

Notwithstanding the unheard of slackness of the prelude, when the storm burst upon our astonished generals they breasted it with skill and valor. As the engagement is more clearly illuminated by official reports on both sides it rises higher on the list of important battles. This bold plan of attack by continuous assaults, characterized by reckless courage, is one remarkable feature. The equal depletion of both armies at the close of the day, all the troops being then in action for the first time and all the reserves put in, the stubborn resistance of the Federal forces, and the determination of both commanding generals to renew the fight on the morrow, certainly are peculiarities that are seldom seen in the same engagement.

One commanding general being killed, the other declining to make an official report, the northern states indignant over a defeat, the southern states jubilant over a victory, are circumstances to be found in the history of few or no great actions. In its inception there were features still more remarkable. An army, ready for the attack, lay all night within hearing of our drum-beats, and our generals, with the exception of Prentiss, knew it not. They were not only incredulous of its presence, but discredited the positive information of subordinates. It was only a reconnoissance.

At the Confederate headquarters this apathy was so astonishing that it was regarded as a piece of strategy, which made them cautious. General Beauregard was inclined to abandon the attack. To him it appeared incredible that, after so many warnings and delays, we were not everywhere prepared and fortified. Had General A. S. Johnston known the true situation he would have put in Bragg's division further to their right, where he could have marched through our so-called defensive line unopposed, attacked Prentiss in the rear, occupied the then foremost camps several hours earlier, and with far less loss of his men. Picket firing began at a quarter past 5 A. M., in front of the camp of General Prentiss. This did not dispel the illusion. It was not until 7 o'clock, when the enemy's battery opened upon Prentiss, that General Sherman gave up the theory of a reconnoissance.

Did ever a battle open under such circumstances? If the first policy of reticence had been followed out, it would have been profitable to all parties. Reputation is as dear to the officers and men of the Third division as to other troops. There were in it six Ohio regiments and more from Indiana. They are all included in the charge of laggards, whom it took all day to march four miles, and that they were from 1 P. M. till 7 marching five miles while a battle was being fought within hearing.

If a court of inquiry was in search of guilty remissness it would not be fastened upon the Third division or its general. If there had been around Shiloh church as much prescience and activity as there was at Crump's landing and Adamsville, Sherman and Prentiss would not have been driven out of their camps. All attempts to throw the blame for those events upon General Wallace must eventually fail. It is now apparent that no line of action could have been adopted by him that would not have been disapproved. His preparations to meet an attack before General Grant passed up the river meet with no commendation. Had he abandoned the trains and stores without orders he might have been deprived of his command. Had he taken the direct route to Snake creek bridge it would have been positive disobedience of orders and a court-martial. Nothing less than a spiritual perception of the situation and the wishes of his chief could have relieved him and his command from censure. Instead of four or five miles, six officers who were with the command make the route of march an average of about thirteen miles; some as low as nine, others more than thirteen. My brigade was not ordered to move until 2 P. M. Taking the shortest route to the lower bridge, I

estimated the distance at eight or nine miles. General Nelson was full half a day getting to Pittsburgh landing from his camp above Savanna. General Beauregard was from noon of the third until late in the night of the fifth marching twenty miles. At the battle of Waterloo General Blucher was from eleven to thirteen miles away. He started at daylight of the longest day of the year in a high latitude. Bulow's corps, in advance, approached the French right wing, near Plauchenoit, between 3 and 4 P. M. Blucher did not join the English left until after sundown.

General Sherman insists that the battle of Sunday was not lost. At 11 A. M. two of our first division corps were in possession of the enemy. All of the divisions had been engaged, and the improvised line of battle forced back nearly a mile. By half-past 4 or 5 P. M. it was, after a stubborn resistance of all the forces, obliged to yield nearly another mile, and three of our division camps were occupied by the Confederates. Two divisions were broken up. The remains of the army were in or across the valley of Brier run and posted for defense. Forty thousand organized troops had diminished to eighteen thousand. Beauregard's right had reached the Tennessee and entered the ravine next above Pittsburgh landing. Their bullets struck the building where the road rose to the bluff overlooking our transports. If such events do not constitute a defeat, where can we find one in history? That another battle was fought the next day with more troops and the lost ground recovered does not take away the fact of a crushing defeat on Sunday.

At Shiloh, if either on Friday or Saturday Hurlbut's division had been put into line on Prentiss' left, the history of the battle would have been quite different, and there would not have been such efforts to condemn the movements from Crump landing. During those days a fatal lethargy seems to have come over the commanding generals. The great successes and glorious victories they have won since then do not alter the facts of Shiloh. Subsequent good fortune should have made them charitable, or at least just.

If General Buell had not arrived between the sixth and the seventh, General Grant would, no doubt, have attacked on the morning of Monday, the seventh. The regiments and brigades of his command of the day previous, who stood beneath their colors, were equal to a great emergency. If they numbered eighteen thousand men, with the Third division added he could rely upon at least twenty-three thousand troops as resolute as himself. The Confederates were more demoralized than the Federals,

Their favorite leader was killed. Beauregard was sick. At daybreak of Monday he was in condition neither to attack or defend. He claims that there were twenty thousand men whom he could bring into action, but they were less reliable than the same number of ours. The probabilities are that if Grant had moved upon their bivouacs at early dawn he would have recaptured his camps unaided, and in a manner far more glorious to the Union army.

CHARLES WHITTLESEY.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN WADE.—II.

The final causes which shape the fortunes of individual men and the destinies of states are often the same. They are usually remote and obscure, their influence wholly unsuspected until declared by results. When they inspire men to the exercise of courage, self-denial, enterprise, industry, and call into play the higher moral elements, lead men to a risk of all upon conviction, faith; such causes lead to the planting of great states, great nations, great peoples. That nation is greatest that produces the greatest and most manly men, as these must constitute the essentially greatest nation. Such a result may not consciously be contemplated by the individuals instrumental in their production. Pursuing each his personal good by exalted means, they worked out this as a logical conclusion. They wrought on the lines of the largest good.

Something has been said of the planting and training of the Puritan element in rugged New England. A word must be permitted of the planting of a new state west of the Alleghanies, between the lake and river, and the transplanting the modified Puritan to its stimulating soil and atmosphere, for further development.

In 1788, General Rufus Putnam organized the Massachusetts company, and secured the grant of a million acres of land on the Ohio, including the mouth of the Muskingum, a river flowing through a most favored region. There the company planted ancient Marietta and organized the county of Washington.

About the same time John Cleves Symmes, a distinguished citizen of New Jersey, secured concessions of large tracts below, extending to the

Miamis, valuable and rich lands, establishing himself at North Bend, intending there to lay the foundations of a western metropolis.

A little later came men from young Kentucky and secured the site of Cincinnati, which, for the time, they called Losantiville, though it fell largely under the dominant men of the east.

The third Stuart king of England, in 1662, made a grant of American lands, sixty-two miles wide, extending from Naragansett bay westward to the ocean, which finally inured to thrifty Connecticut. Her title was none of the best, but she so managed that after her sister states had relinquished their rival claims to the infant republic, she was permitted to reserve from her grant to the United States, as her property, this breadth of territory extending west one hundred and twenty miles from the western line of Pennsylvania. This is the origin, territorial extent and geographical position of the famous Connecticut Western Reserve—New Connecticut, as the natives of that state affectionately called it. The south line of the grant—the forty-first degree north—was its southern boundary. Her northern was washed by the envious lake, ever encroaching on the domain, while the southern trend of the coast line, running west, cut the ambitious little state out of quite half her acres. In her sweep across northern Pennsylvania she had planted, organized, and for a time governed her county of Westmoreland, whose representatives sat in her legislature, and she had a long and bloody feud with Pennsylvania, to whom she was finally obliged later to yield it. And though she had so much *more land still west*, she was constrained to yield its sovereignty to the United States, and it became for political purposes part of the great Northwest Territory, and so of the state of Ohio. She soon sold the soil to the Connecticut land company, composed of Massachusetts and Connecticut capitalists, who surveyed, divided their acquisition and dissolved, each at once seeking purchasers, which caused the first and greatest movement westward in New England. All this, save migration, occurred in the last years of the last century.

These wide acquisitions on the borders of the state that was to be, show the appreciative judgment, as well as the enterprise, of the men of New England, of the importance of this new and farther west, a west that was to flee yet westward till the occident itself should vanish. This northernmost acquisition was soon to become the home and the training ground of our youth of the Feeding Hills Parish, whose best claim to notice is—it gave him birth and early nurture.

Loosely speaking, the Reserve was distant six hundred miles, the whole extent of westward-stretching New York and farther-extending Pennsylvania, both westwardly, covered by an interminable forest, traversed by numerous and generally unbridged streams, and intersected by one considerable range of mountains to be crossed or gone around. At the beginning of the century the whole of the new domain was in the possession of the Indians, though their titles had been extinguished by the process of battle and treaty.

Immigration, left wholly to individual enterprise, by unconscious selection, secures in the main a very good, often the best man for that purpose. None but the hardy, resolute and enterprising would undertake and endure the hazard and hardship. The most of Ohio was thus peopled, not only from New England, but from Virginia, Maryland, Kentucky and Tennessee. As might have been foreseen from her geographical position and extent, she would rapidly grow to power and importance in the republic.

The leaders of New England and northeastern immigration to the southern border were men of wealth, high position and wide influence. They sought soldiers, adventurers, border men, hunters, men of broken fortunes, and, surrounded as they were by emigrants from the border southern states, the distinctively New England and northern traits and characteristics were soon lost; and while they modified the manners and customs of the new communities, were in turn modified by their new associates and environs. Migration to the Connecticut lands was entirely spontaneous, without the aid of the states, or of the land company, without the patronage of leaders or proprietors, quite without individual concert. That region bordering the lake was from the first preferred, though in the beginning not more accessible. It may be that the unapprehended influence of the seeming law that requires the greater lines of transit over the western continent shall be along the parallels of latitude, controlled this first considerable movement of the eastern people. However that was, while New England early lost its distinctive influence in southern Ohio, it concentrated and augmented it on the northern border, which was so much condensed Puritan New England. It still remains essentially New England. The immigrants thither were young, middle-aged husbandmen and their young wives and children, from the centres of the oldest English civilization on the continent, with nothing warlike but the fading traditions of the revolution and older Indian wars, nor hunters, knowing nothing of

woodcraft, or pioneer makeshifts. Peace-loving, law-abiding, from instinct and habit—frugal, long-headed, intellectual, intelligent, hard workers, inventive, strongly imbued with the religion of their ancestors, intensely Protestant, believing in the God of the Bible, the saving efficacy of common schools in this life, and bent on bettering their earthly condition by slow, hard work. Beyond that never thinking of any part they were to play in forming a new great state. Purely democratic in life and habit of thought, their organized townships would be little democracies. Of one of these the young Wades are to become citizens, help form and be formed by it, in the larger freedom of the thinly settled woods, most favorable to the development of individual traits and tendencies, growing as the trees grow, and, like them, largely under the limits of natural law alone.

The county of Ashtabula (Indian name of a creek) is the northeastern county of Ohio, bordering Lake Erie and bounded east by Pennsylvania. It was organized in 1811, contains twenty-eight townships, of the five mile square pattern of the Reserve, to which the exceptions, save those caused by the lake coast-line, are few.

The township of Andover is one of the eastern range, lying along the Pennsylvania line, and the fifth going south from the lake, from which it is something over twenty miles distant. Its settlement began in 1805 or 1806. It was organized as a politic body in 1819. This implied at least ten resident voters in its territory. The organization was after the Massachusetts pattern, with three trustees—the government proper, one or more justices of the peace and constables—old English; supervisors of highways, overseers of the poor, viewers of fences, the erection of common school districts by metes and bounds, of which the residents were *quasi* corporators. All native or naturalized citizens, with the qualification of residence, were freemen, and settled their township affairs at an annual meeting of all the voters, held then, and now, on the first Monday of April.

In the history of Andover* I find it recorded: "In 1820 the three brothers Wade—Samuel Sidney, Theodore Leonard, and Charles H.—came into the township. They were unmarried." The record says further of these young Wades, that in 1821 "Theodore taught a three months' school in Madison (then in Geauga county some distance west) and received therefor six barrels of whiskey;" and that "Charles taught the

*Williams' History of Ashtabula County, p. 216.

same winter in Monroe (down toward the lake) and received five barrels." It may be stated that at that day the only disposition to be made of the surplus wheat and corn was to turn it into whiskey. Its capacity of being turned elsewhere, rendered it one of the few merchantable products of that remote region, which then had no outlet, except across the woods south-eastwardly to remote Pittsburgh and the headwaters of the Ohio river. The history also says that the new Wade homestead was established on lots 38 and 48. What were distinguished as lots were quarter sections, a half mile square, containing one hundred and sixty acres of land each. This may answer for the beginning of current history as usually written. It will be remembered that James Wade, Jr., the eldest of the sons, early pushed off to the neighborhood of Albany, west of Springfield and not very remote, where he taught school, studied medicine, married and came finally to be a physician and surgeon of much local celebrity.

It is quite certain that the first to reach Ohio were Charles H., his sister, Nancy Picket, and her husband, John. They left Springfield late in 1819, and there is a legend that they walked much of the way, lingered in Pennsylvania and reached Andover in 1820, where they settled. The next was Samuel Sidney. Samuel Sidney Wade, second son, left Feeding Hills and made his way to his brothers, in eastern New York, where he remained for a time teaching school. He reached Andover about the time, or a little later than did his brother and sister. He was accompanied by Theodore L. They joined the others. The exact date, whether in 1819 or 1820, of this reunion is of little consequence to us. The three young men, brothers, these young and vigorous Wades, fell to the first and only work of pioneers (axmen), chopping down trees, building log cabins, tracing out trails and lines, and "blazing trees" (hewing off the bark) to mark the way, and picking up the rudiments of woodcraft, this and school-teaching in the winter. Here in the woods, Samuel Sidney, the wit of the family—who ranked high for shrewd and pithy sayings, esteemed quite the best conversationalist—found sweet Emily Cadwell, then two years with her father's family, Roger Cadwell, from Farmington, Connecticut, and wooed her in such fashion that they were married in September, 1821.* He it was who "took up" the land in the east part of this Andover of the west, and built there a new homestead, of which the young bride became the mistress.

*They became the parents of Judge E. C. Wade of Jefferson, Ohio, and she was a sister of the later born Hon. Darius Cadwell of Cleveland.

It must have been in the fall of 1821 that the Wade brothers fitted out a team and sent John Picket to Massachusetts for the residue of the family—James and Mary Upham, Frank and Ned, who reached the cabin in the woods at the near approach of winter, now more than sixty-three years ago.

How rudimentary everything was—a little framed school house at the centre, built the year before; an old-fashioned, small-stoned grist-mill, picked from native boulders; a little, new, slow-going saw mill, on a forest stream that dried up when the woods were cut away; trails and winding scarcely trodden roads and forest paths, through the endless woods, with here and there a small opening, a rude log cabin, a little, stumpy, blackened clearing, and for the rest, woods—trees and woods. There was a court house and a hamlet at Jefferson, a larger one near the mouth of the Ashtabula creek. Buffalo still showed signs of the late war, and then the solitary shore of the lonely lake, a waste of desert water. There was a little village on the Grand river west—a rude, straggling town of six hundred inhabitants—at the mouth of the Cuyahoga. The lake had a single steamer launched that season, called "Walk in the Water," after the old Wyandot chief, who deserted Proctor the day before the battle of the Thames; that and four or five small craft, without a harbor or barely an accessible creek, on the whole southern lake coast. The great state of the near future was a wide, dim outline, hiding in the shadows of its scarcely broken forests, still echoing with the cries and din of savage warfare, its half million of pioneers. Columbus, a straggling, muddy village on the Scioto, had been but five years the capital when Frank Wade, this lithe young descendant of the Puritans, strode into the woods of her north-eastern border, as unconscious of what this coming portended to him as of the future greatness of the infant state three years his junior. He was then twenty-one years of age, full American height, broad, heavy shouldered, slender in the loin, well limbed, straight and supple, manly featured, to whom Jupiter had already sent a beard; dark eyed, and bearing his head well up with unconscious dignity, wholly unassuming, frank, courageous, virile manliness early characterized his bearing, with a mind well developed, quick, observing, alive to all that was about him, he came, as did the other youths of the east, to war with the forests, reduce the earth to the purposes of the husbandman and become a tiller of its fresh, vigorous soil; less aspiring than his younger brother, this was known to be his purpose. His first study was the wonderful forest, not the lush gigantic

tangled growth of the sub-tropical, humid regions of the south, but the open, clean, tall, large, splendid product of the strong soils in that northern temperate belt, stretching from the Hudson westward to the treeless plains, composed of nearly every variety of *deciduous* trees, with but a slight sprinkle, here and there, of *conifers*. This was particularly the character of the forest lying along the southern border of the lake, extending indefinitely southward and westward.

The Younger Wades had already become accustomed to the woods. They, nor no men, had ever seen a finer growth of splendid forest than shaded the wide, sloping plains and hillsides of the Western Reserve.

It is curious, the effect of a sojourn in the forest upon civilized men. All revert more or less toward more primitive conditions—toward savagery. It is essential to existence there, where everything is taken first hand from the woods, the waters and the soil itself. Some became hunters in a day, some instinctively grasp the lore of woodcraft, while the majority remain obstinate citizens, to whom the forest is a prison whose walls they flee or labor to destroy.

Frank early became, and always remained, an expert rifle shot. I never heard that he was a hunter or greatly a woodsman; he was an observer, a student, and alive to impressions. From wondering at the individual trees, wondering at the trees in grand masses, he passed to studying their peculiarities and economic values. He came to know something of the forest, the woods as a whole, came to appreciate it as the realm, the world of nature, who wrote a common character upon all her children, that found standing room and homes in its thickets and glades. Wild, men call it, from insect and bird to the elk and Indian. Wild, gamey, the hunters and pioneers said of the flavor of its meats and fruits. Men living long in it themselves become more or less possessed of its subtle, elusive, yet pervasive spirit.

The latest arrived took up their abode with the newly married Samuel and Emily, and so the family were reunited. The Pickets were near, the Brigdens and Bettises soon came, and save the long absent James, Jr., the Wades were all together again. Three of the five young men taught school that winter. Those at home kept the fire going, "chopped down browse" maple, elm, beech and basswood for the cow and oxen. As the spring approached five axes were helved and ground, and five stalwart young choppers assailed the forest. A cornfield must be planted in May. From eight to ten days a single fairly good axman required to fell and

cut into proper lengths, the standing trees of an acre of land and pile up the small limbs and brush, for the first burning. What a falling of trees and resounding of axes as these five youths *Waded* into the woods. Then came sugar-making, and the pigeons, the suckers and mullet, the pike and other lake fish up the undammed creeks. In mid April the newly cut and piled brush in the chopping, under the sun, winds and rains, would burn, and the "fallow"—the chopping—was fired. The winds arose, and there was a great conflagration—which darkened the sky—and the fragrance of burning leaves. Then, with a specially trained yoke of oxen—Bright and Brown, the same with shoes and working in breeching, which drew the wagon from the Feeding Hills the autumn before; the young men, armed with "ironwood" handspikes, strong, hardy and lithe, piled up and burnt the already blackened tree trunks, and the denuded, bare, smirched, virgin earth was given to her husbandmen. The vigor of her response to the young New Englanders was a wonder to them. Whatever they entrusted to her she returned an hundred fold, their plantings of one day putting forth their blades almost on the next. What lush growths of rank and fragrant herbage on the wide slopes of the woods and along the pleasant watercourses, the early season brought; even the uplands were clothed in deep verdure as a savanna. What myriads of new and strange flowers, what a world of song birds, and then the wild small fruits as the summer deepened. There were the plum bottoms, raspberries, crab apples in endless profusion, and the fragrance of wild thyme and oxbalm. Through the summer, there was more chopping and clearing for wheat. Then the rich, ripe autumn and the splendor of the gorgeous forest, with the profusion of nuts. Winter came with more school-teaching, and so as the seasons came and went they were much alike. The fields grew, the woods receded; rich grasses clothed the earth, fruit trees and shrubs took the places of the wilder plantings of nature, which she in turn fostered with the same care.

What a household was that—these five young Wades—the eldest with his bride-wife: James already venerable, telling his stories of the old war, his memory failing; Mary, grown a little stout, with her square, intellectual brow, bright eyes, white hair, her softened, sweet face and winnowed wisdom still the head and center; the young wife ruling by the divine right of blessed womanhood, surrounded by these youths taught by Mother Mary to reverence and cherish womanhood. Something of this old-time, rare circle has been told me.

These five vigorous, healthy, intellectual, witty and fairly cultivated

young men, emulous, hungry for mental food, eager, searching for every thing within reach, reading every book that any of their ten hands could be laid upon, and discussing it as they read, and so of everything. The *Cleveland Herald* was established in 1819, the *Painesville Telegraph* in 1821. One or both of these they secured with something from the east. A joyous, gay-tempered, light-hearted, laughing, joking, rollicking band of brothers as ever migrated into the western woods; kindly doing every thing that came to their hands; helping and being helped, as was the then golden rule of the pioneers; widely known, widely respected and loved. What a power such a band is; how helpful to each other.

Two years—two cherished years of this life, hard, and in many ways stunted, in a cold, thin atmosphere of toil and self-denial, yet robust, sinewy, free, pure, active, unselfish, healthful, Frank Wade's first of pupilage and acclimation in the life and fitting for his future duties—two years, and he turned from that book of the lessons, a little with the uncertainty of one who has not yet seen his way to the thing he wants, or is in doubt as to the thing itself. He would not be an Ohio farmer. For many, many waiting years the young communities were without markets or outlets. The lake was useless. The Erie canal was yet incomplete, and notwithstanding the thrift and enterprise of the people, the settlements languished, stood still, the years were moveless; values of all products disappeared;* money was not; the silver coins were cut to fractions, and the utmost economy was necessary to secure enough to pay the moderate yearly taxes and buy salt and leather. Black salts commanded cash at Pittsburgh. Whiskey has been mentioned. The wide and rich forest pasturage made the raising of cattle easy. These could be driven eastward to a market. Early this was an extensive business on the Reserve. Enterprising men made it a calling. It was full of risk, laborious, required skill and enterprise. The larger merchant made it a means of purchase and sale. He supplied his customers on long credits and received cattle in payment, sometimes paying a small part in cash. Philadelphia was the great eastern market where the droves were sold and the proceeds invested in goods. New York was no market. Boston was oftener resorted to for commercial purposes. The purchases were herded and driven "over the

*My father's noble pair of oxen were sold for forty dollars, part cash. A fine mare for thirty dollars. He sold wheat for thirty-five and forty cents per bushel, receiving "store pay." He paid ten dollars for a barrel of salt and thirty-five cents a yard for poor domestic cotton. A man often worked a day for a yard of cotton cloth.

mountains" through Pennsylvania, taking five or six weeks to make the transit. Later, sheep and swine were in like manner disposed of.

In the autumn of 1823 Frank Wade hired himself to a drover, and aided him in driving a herd "over the mountains" to Philadelphia. He probably walked a large part or the whole of the distance, and received eight, ten or twelve dollars, his personal expenses paid. The name of his employer is lost, and so escaped his one chance of immortality. From Philadelphia he made his way to Albany and joined his brother, Doctor James. He spent two years in the neighborhood—two years teaching school, and as is said, he also undertook the study of medicine under his brother's tuition. He could never have more than toyed with the textbooks, his reading making no show in his after mental equipment, as it would had he ever seriously undertaken it. It is certain that during this time he resorted to the line of the great canal, in the course of construction, and worked for a time with pick and shovel and barrow with the common laborers, for means to carry himself forward, receiving, probably, not exceeding forty-five or fifty cents per day. Had anyone then told the brave, independent youth that he was destined to hear this incident of his life related in the senate of the United States, and himself spoken of as one of the most talented members of that body, by the foremost statesman of his time, he would have regarded it as a prophecy too silly for even derision.‡ Little as we know of these two years, we know they were not lost. Nothing ever is in the lives of such men. They may not have been the most helpful—they were not without their use. He may have been slow in growth and development; I am inclined to think he was, and his mind got the utmost help from all discipline.

The great waterway was commenced in 1817, was completed in the autumn of 1825, and the regal Clinton made his progress in a famous barge from Buffalo to tide water, through it, at the close of that season. Unquestionably young Wade returned home upon it by way of the lake. Of all the west the Reserve was the first to be vivified by the new life it kindled in all the north.

Frank returned to find his youngest brother, Edward, the most aspiring of all the brothers, a law student in the office of Messrs. Whittlesey &

‡Speaking of the great work and of the foreigners who performed it, William H. Seward said in the senate: "Whence came the labor that performed that work? I know but one American citizen who worked with spade and wheelbarrow upon those works. Doubtless there are many others, but I know but one, and he, I am glad to say, is a member on this floor—Mr. Wade of Ohio, and one of the most talented senators."

Newton, at Canfield, now Mahoning county, toward the south line of the Reserve, the great private law school of northern Ohio. This ingenious youth, though full of fun and fancies, nevertheless had a turn for mathematics, and had composed and written a new arithmetic, which occupied his thought and spare time for a year or two. When completed, and he was studying the means of publication, a brother-in-law's house, where it was deposited, was burnt, and it was consumed. It was said he went about dejectedly for a day or two, and then announced his determination to become a lawyer, and that soon after, with his scant wardrobe and six dollars in his pocket, he made his way to Canfield, was received, and at once entered upon his novitiate to the law. This must have been in 1824—year memorable in American annals for the first great contest between the second Adams and General Jackson for the Presidency, in which were sown the seeds for mischiefs innumerable.

In that day the profession of the law was, if anything, more exclusive and exalted than any other calling in America. Its members were limited, and they jealously guarded all the avenues of entrance to its ranks and privileges, then wholly committed to their keeping. They received as students and educated the carefully selected few, whom they finally admitted to this favored circle. Always dressed with care, dignified and distant in manner, associating socially with none but the conceded select, when lines and classes were still well marked, as a body, a profession, the members always remembered and exacted their collective and individual dues. It was long regarded as arrogant in the average young man to aspire to the honors of the bar. Wealth and education could not always find the way to it. The ministry and medicine were comparatively free. To be received into a law office as a full student, at once marked a young man and set him apart. It required courage and enterprise on his part to face this aristocratic set, meet their exactions and steadily contemplate the awful presence of the court itself. The idea of assaulting and winning his way into this favored profession was Ned Wade's own. Who vouched for him, if voucher he had, is now unknown. He was aspiring, had faith and capacity for work, and when Frank returned from Albany he was a well-established and favorite student.

Elisha Whittlesey was then fairly among the three or four great lawyers in his section of the state, and had just entered upon his long, distinguished and very valuable career in the national house of representatives. Eben Newton, younger, was in the opening of a long and exceptionally

brilliant course at the bar, in the Ohio senate and congress. The firm ranked with the best in the west, and educated as many able lawyers as ever graduated from any law office in Ohio. The senior was a gentleman of the old school, had served with distinction in the late war, was the centre of an exceptionally exclusive circle, the olden Canfield, where was much of wealth and pretension. There resided the Whittleseys Wadsworths, Churches, the Canfields and others. Ned had a modest youth's confidence in himself, had boundless faith in his brother Frank. He quite appreciated his strong, sinewy mind his capacity and will for work. Just what line of argument he pursued we know not. Upon his return he besought him so earnestly to enter upon the study of the law, that through his efforts Frank, ere winter, was an accepted student in the office of Wittlesey & Newton.* He was then twenty-five years old, with a mind fairly unfolded, a good age to enter upon the acquirement of the rudiments of the law, by no means an exact science, and even at this day of inquiry and criticism, little of its philosophy has been written. While it demands long and arduous mental labor to master its numerous and often artificial rules, and the grounds and reasons upon which they depended, it still has a considerable element of apprenticeship, which those who undertake the law, toward even early middle life, rarely acquire and become adepts in. Though slenderly equipped by scholarship, Mr. Wade in many respects was admirably fitted, not only to acquire, master, the theories of English common law, but he had the courage, will power, the capacity for long, continuous, persistent work, mental and physical, without which the higher positions of the profession never were attained, and with which no man ever yet failed at the bar. The curious layman who glances around the book-crusted walls of a good working law library, wonders if a man must know all they contain. Not at all. He is a good lawyer who knows where to find what law he wants at a given time. The student is not asked to master more than ten or twelve volumes, purely elementary, the accepted formulas of the law, arranged under heads, as expounded and enforced by the courts at Westminster, Washington, New York, Boston, Baltimore—the courts of the last resort, among the various English speaking nations and states.

The well selected library of that time would seem meager and poor to the richer surrounded lawyer of our day. Blackstone's still incomparable work, first given to the public in 1765, of course these leading lawyers

*Edward Wade was my authority for this statement.

had; and the first of Joseph Chetties, which still maintain their place. Chancellor Kent's first volume was not published till 1826, nor was there any important American work. For the rest, there were Coke and Fearne and Fonblanque, Plowden and Powel; Bacon—not him of St. Albans and Verulam; Bacon's abridgement, in ten huge, dull volumes; Comyn's digest; a stately row of Hargrave's state trials, old folios and Espinasse, and hardest of books of legal problems; Buller's *nisi prius*, where complex cases were condensed into five lines, and a half score to the page. For the law of crimes there were Hale and East and Hawkins. Above all and over all, and "blessed forever," there stood a huge folio—"Jacob's Law Dictionary"—good old Father Jacob, who required a good deal of recondite learning to consult and understand, but who, in a last push, in that strange old land of mediæval scholasticism and hidden meanings, of bad law Latin and worse law French, where solid black letter cast a mystic gloom over the page, never did fail the bewildered, wearied student.

It would be interesting to note the early steps of the plucky, sinewy mind of Frank, with its inherited tendencies, in this new field. How he scoffed and fought everything! What battles royal he had with the already indoctrinated Edward, till by degrees the spirit and life, the reason and light—the last sometimes a little lurid and sometimes a little ghostly, yet always steady—came to be apprehended and appreciated as the weird, quaint spirit of the realm came to possess him. Its sturdy efforts to reach a practical right, sometimes failing through its own subtleties, sometimes losing its true spirit in its own dead and empty names, yet always reviving and coming forth sturdy and vigorous for the rights of the individual man, and effectively interposing to shield and protect him from the oppression of the crown, which, while the law presumed could do no wrong, betrayed a vicious tendency to do no right. No vigorous, ingenious mind can explore the law and apprehend the historic significance of its English career, without cherishing a profound veneration for *habeas corpus* and trial by jury. Rapidly the strong, primitive mind of the young man—a mind that boldly questioned all things, which took nothing second-hand, which, when deepest imbued with the color of the law, still retained its native apprehension of the white light, in which a healthful intellect sees all things—became truly studious of the common law—that distilled product of so many generations of the strongest and most practical of the minds of men, compelled to deal with, adjust and settle the innumerable

differences of men, arising in their endless commerce with human property, its acquisition, transference and transmission, each generation accepting the results of its predecessors, working them over, broadening, deepening, correcting, limiting, modifying and improving the whole, as new and better lights arose, new wants created, and farther general human progress attained—that infinitely greater mass of law, not originating in acts of parliament, of congress and state legislatures; older and wiser, the atmosphere in which they are created, underlying, overarching, surrounding all statutes, the background against which they are drawn, by the rules of which the meaning of all enacted law is ascertained, adjudged and enforced. An admirable mental training say the doubting, jealous laymen, for lawyer, but its tendency is to narrow the intellect and render it less competent to deal with broad subjects and large interests. Let these remember that the broadest minded statesmen of America, from Hamilton to Webster and Clay, from these to Lincoln, Seward and Garfield, were all thoroughly learned and trained common lawyers.

The statutes of Ohio required two years of diligent, preparatory study ere this examination for admission to the bar.

The life of a real law student is narrow, absorbing, intense, exclusive and most uneventful. He has appreciated its importance to himself and correctly apprehended the demands of his future profession. Shy, silent and retiring, the allurements of society, the charm of outdoor life, the roar and clamor of the great outer world, cease to distract him. Let no young man who does not seriously intend the law as his life work, waste his time in dawdling over books in orthodox sheep, and kindred vices, for vices to him they will be. He will not dip deep enough to secure useful mental discipline. He will secure just law enough to mislead himself and those who trust in him. He will never know how little he does know, small as it is certain to be.

The young Wades made the law theirs—made themselves over to it—imbibed its spirit and acquired the capacity to become real lawyers. There is now scarcely a legend of their student days. There used to be many traditions of the brothers about the older Canfield, particularly of Frank, who impressed all men. I have tried in vain to find how he impressed women. Shy of women, diffident of power to please, he seems to have never sought the society of ladies. I am sorry for that. His decided ways, pithy sayings, original views of men and things, his well marked individuality, left a flavor of his presence that took many years and three gener-

ations to dissipate. Two years, then he was to face the not apprehended examination, beyond which, gray and misty, was the great world of the unknown. Yet ere the trial for admission, James, the father, and Mary, the mother, were laid to rest in the shadow of the forest.

James Wade, the elder, was seventy-one at the time of the westward migration. His vigor was in its decline. He was boyishly eager to start for the west. No land since that first paradise of the occident has ever been made more alluring by stories of returned explorers than that favored region. Mary Upham, a little stouter, never very tall, retained her full mental vigor and was still strong of limb. She knew she was going forever from home into a literal wilderness. Quietly and silently she bade adieu to the small, well-kept mounds over baby Nancy and baby Charles, lingered about the spring and in one or two pleasant nooks in the garden, went out to the orchard, took a final look off from a near summit, with her own hand closed the outside door, and took her place by her impatient husband's side, as so many women had done and would do. Bravely, when they started, she refused to turn her eyes backward. They had looked their last on what she loved of that earth, and steadily and cheerfully she set them westward. Nancy and Sidney and Theodore and Charles were there. James was weary before they reached James junior's, where they lingered. The full significance of the enterprise to him began to reveal itself when they again moved on the returnless journey. Very well he endured to Buffalo. Further lay the Cattaragus swamps and woods. Where were the boys going, and into what? Beyond, on the wave-beaten beach of the solitary lake, were days to him of reverie and half dream. The endless waste of water, the boundless border of trees. He grew weary of the monotony of the woods—all woods. Such trees he had never seen. He soon lost the power to admire and wonder at them. They wearied and then wore him. The endless level plain became unendurable. It was quite all the brave, tender Mary could do to keep him up. All the way and from the first he deluded himself. Ohio-Andover was a place dreadfully level, but there were cleared fields, pleasant, grassy meadows, white houses, and lazy, fat cattle, a place where he could see through and out of the woods. Yet the further they went the more endless seemed the everlasting forest. Finally the wagon stopped beside a rude cabin, with the tall, great trees thick about it. There tripped out to him comely, sweet-faced wife Emily, and here were Sidney and Theodore and Charles—what were they all doing here in the woods?

Then it came to the old man that this was the final end, this was Ohio-Andover, home. He went into the woods too late; children never comprehend how cruel they are to attempt to transplant an old man. It is hardest on him; a woman is more transferable. He never took root in the new, strange soil.

The strong, fresh, abounding life, so inspiring and invigorating to the young, the middle-aged, never thrilled his shrunken veins. He was reconciled, passive, even cheerful, a little querulous, and went pottering about, resumed the stories of his early adventures whenever anyone would listen, then grew forgetful and told the same thing over and over to the same person, as a thing he never had heard before. He would sit watching the circling shadows of the trees as the sun cast them over the low cabin. As time wore on and the woods receded, came the natural wish to return to the Feeding Hills. He dreamed of it, planned the journey, the time it would take, the money it would cost, the places where they would put up for the night. He finally thought he and Mary would start and go alone—would walk it—and she indulged the idea. As she made no preparations for the journey, he concluded to go alone, and put together a few things and set times to go, and finally it was a source of disquiet to faithful Mary fearing he would start away alone on a pilgrimage to the old home, and she watched and was on guard.

Mary's self, so bright, cheerful, patient and hitherto so strong and hopeful for the rest, took the new, strange life pleasantly. The winter of 1825-'26 was severe. It was too much for her. It became apparent to all save James that unless the warm weather came early and genially, she would see none but the early flowers in bloom, would never hear her favorite, the hermit thrush, at twilight in the near wood again. She died April 10, 1826.

James had now no wish to go back to Massachusetts. He was only eager to follow Mary. She had not long to wait for him, and he set out on the same way, the eternally old road, May 9 following. In age, death does not long divide the really married.

A. G. RIDDLE.

INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.—II.

One of the smoothest and prettiest of Indian names is *Erie*. That of *Huron* is a little harsher, but my theory is that they are identical, differing in orthography only because we get the spelling of the latter directly from the French, and the former indirectly from the Iroquois. For all that is now known to the contrary, the two names may be an abbreviation of a longer and much less fluent word, as we know comparatively little of its origin or meaning.

In a historical lecture delivered at Erie, Pennsylvania, by Henry L. Harvey, and cited in 'Day's Historical Collections of Pennsylvania,' p. 310, Harvey says:

The Iroquois, after attacking the Algonkins, commenced upon the nation of the Eries, or *Irri-ronon*, a powerful and war-like race inhabiting the south side of the beautiful lake which still bears their name—almost the only memento that such a nation ever existed—a name signifying *cats*, which they had adopted as characteristic of their tribe.

Here it is distinctly stated that the Eries were not Algonkin; and the phrase by which they were known to the Iroquois—*Irri-ronon*—shows that *Irri*, or Erie, is an Iroquois word. "*Ronon*" is the Iroquois equivalent for tribe, people, nation; and *Irri-ronon* is "the nation or tribe of the *Irri*." If *Irri* signified *cat*, the probability is overwhelmingly strong that the cat, or wild-cat, was the *totem* of a family or division of a tribe. Every Indian people ever heard of was subdivided into *totems*, the emblem of each being either an animal or a bird. In the Historical Magazine, vol. iv., p. 152, is found the following:

SHAWNEES—On what authority does Pearce, in his 'Annals of Luzerne County, Pennsylvania,' make the Shawnees and Kickapoos branches of Eries? The 'Relation of the Jesuits' for 1648, says: "The southern shores of this lake, called Erie, were formerly inhabited by certain tribes whom we call the Cat nation, who have been compelled to retire far inland to get at a distance from their enemies, who are more to the west. These people of the Cat nation have many permanent towns, for they cultivate the earth, and are of the same language as our Hurons!" And the two tribes mentioned certainly do not speak a *Huron*, but an Algonkin dialect."

Note, here, that the Jesuits do not speak of them as *Eries*; that their enemies were not to the east, but more to the west; and that their language was *Huron*, and therefore related to the Iroquois.

The answer to the query propounded by the Historical Magazine is to be found in the same volume of that work, page 186, and simply cites

the following, which originally appeared as a note on page 35 of 'Miner's History of Wyoming':

Governor Cass thus speaks of the *Shawnees*: "Their history is involved in much obscurity. Their language is Algonkin, and closely allied to the Kickapoo and other dialects spoken by tribes who have lived for ages north of the Ohio. But they are known to have recently emigrated from the south, where they were surrounded by a family of tribes, Creeks, Cherokees, Choctaws, etc., with whose language their own had no affinity. Their traditions assign to them a foreign origin, and a wild story has come down to them of a solemn procession in the midst of the ocean, and a miraculous passage through the great deep. That they were closely connected with the Kickapoos the actual identity of language furnishes irrefragable proof, and the incidents of the separation yet live in the oral history of each tribe. *We are strongly inclined to believe* that, not long before the arrival of the French upon these great lakes, the Kickapoos and Shawnees composed the tribe known as the Erie, living on the eastern shore of the lake to which they have given their name. It is said that this tribe was exterminated by the Iroquois. But it is more than probable that a series of disasters divided them into two parties, one of which, under the name of *Kickapoos*, sought refuge from their enemies in the immense prairies between the Illinois and Mississippi, and the others, under the name of Shawnees, fled into the Cherokee country and further south. Father Segard, in 1632, called the Eries the *Nation du Chat*, or the raccoon, on account of the magnitude of these animals in their country, and that is the soubriquet which, to this day, is applied by the Canadians to the Shawnees."

And to this the editor of the Historical Magazine appends this note:

The early French writers called the Eries the *Nation du Chat*, but describe them as of the same language as the Hurons and Five Nations. An Erie woman founded the Iroquois village now at Sault St. Louis, near Montreal. The Canadians now call the Shawnees *Chas*; but this is a contraction of the name *Chawanon*, answering to our Shawnee, as *Poux* is of *Pouteowattami*. We think that the difference in language shows that General Cass' suggestions will not explain the Erie question.

It may be well to add here that General Cass, while familiar in a way with Indian questions, was not a profound student of Indian history or language.

It is clear, from these citations, that the Eries, whoever they may have been, were called by the Jesuits and Iroquois *Nation du Chat*, and the fact that the Canadians called the Shawnees *Chas* (and not *Chat*) does not prove that the Eries were identical with the Shawnees and Kickapoos. The confident statement made by Pearce that they *were* identical rests, it will be seen, solely upon what General Cass was merely "strongly inclined to believe." There is not a particle of other evidence to sustain it.

General Cass speaks of the Shawnees as being so-called before they were driven southward, but there is good reason for believing that they were so called only after their return. The Delaware for south is *Shaw-aneu*, and as the name commemorates their return from the south it probably grew out of it. At any rate, we hear of them first as Shawnees after their return.

Again. The *Nation du Chat*, whether that name refers to the wild

cat or raccoon, could not have been so named, as General Cass says, on account of the great magnitude of these animals in their country, for we have nothing to indicate that either of those animals was of greater magnitude there than elsewhere. It refers rather to their *totem*, which was probably the wild cat, and another family of the same nation may have had the raccoon as a *totem*, as other families had other animals for a similar purpose.

General John Gibson thinks that *Suwano* is the proper name of the Shawnees. They are so called, he says, by the other Indians, from being a southern people. They were so quarrelsome, Gibson adds, that their southern neighbors combined against them, whereupon they moved to Ohio. Here they settled, and sent word to the Mohicans to intercede with the Delawares for leave to come into their country. This was done, and leave granted. Some of them went east, some remained in Ohio, some settled as high up as Long (Neville) island, near Pittsburgh. Those who went east were gradually crowded west to the Susquehanna* and thence back to Ohio. In the meantime those in Ohio had increased and advanced as far down the Ohio as Shawneetown, at the mouth of the Wabash.

Taking *Irri* as the equivalent of Erie, and its meaning as wild cat, and taking into account, also, the tendency of the French to place an aspirate before the vowels in the Indian names, as shown in the case of Ohio, it is easy to see how *Irri-ronon* became *Hirri-ronon*, which would readily shorten into *Hirri-on*, from which the transition is easy to *Huron*. The Hurons of history were found higher up the lake than the Eries were, and extended from the head of the lake into Canada; but as they may have been of the same *totem* as the Eries, the Iroquois would naturally speak of them by their totem name. If this conjecture is correct, the *Nation du Chat*, the *Irri-ronon*, can have the credit of giving permanent names to two of our lakes, the two names being identical though somewhat dissimilar in form.

The *Hurons* were also known as *Wendats*, or *Yendats*; but whether this is the name they gave themselves or not, there is nothing to show. By a reference to 'Shea's Linguistics,' vol. x, page 55, it will be found that the Mohawk word for "island" was *gahwendo*, and the Hurons of San-

*A chief of the Shawnees, who was among the first to leave the Susquehanna for the west, was named *Wabasha*. Was he named after the Wabash river, or the river from him?

dusky* were called by them *Hah-wen-da-qu-ha*, from their residence on an island or islands. *Gah-wen-dut-an-ni-on* was a "number of islands," and *Gah-wen-dut* "on an island." From *Wendat* comes our *Wyandot*; and this the French, from having no W, spelled *Guy-an-dotte*; or *Guyandotte* may be the French form of *Gah-wen-dut*. The Hurons were also known by the names *Guandastokes*, *Andastokes*, *Andastes*, etc., and *Quatoghies*. All of these names, except the last, are apparently but variations of *Wendat*, *Wyandot* and *Guyandotte*. The Hurons, according to Parkman, worked north from Sandusky to the Canada side, and settled along the lake called after them.

A name common to both Pennsylvania and Ohio is *Conneaut*, the diminutive of which is *Conneauttee*, and *Connotton* is possibly also a variation of it. Heckewelder, with his strong devotion to the Delawares as the Indians, tries to pass the name off as of Delaware origin, and classes it as from the same source as *Connonado*, *Connewanta* and *Connewango*. The first he derives from *gunminado*, "he makes a long stay," or, "it is long since he went there;" indicating that the Indians awaited here, impatiently, the delayed return of one of their number. *Conneaut* he derives from *gunniate*, "it is a long while since we went;" and *Connewanta* and *Connewango* from *guné-unga*, "they stay long—it is long since they went away." *Connonado* has ceased to have any prominence as a name, and it is needless to discuss it; but as to the others, I am satisfied he is wrong.

Day, in his 'Historical Collections of Pennsylvania,' page 250, gives the meaning of *Conneaut* as "the place of snow," and *Conneauttee* as "little *Conneaut*," adding, "the snow remains on the ice in the lake after melting elsewhere." No authority is given for this definition, nor any etymology of the word, and it may therefore be classed as fanciful merely.

In the treaty made by the United States in 1794 with the Six Nations (Iroquois), Cornplanter, the chief, signs his Indian name as *Konneatarleoh*, or "Handsome Lake." (See U. S. Statutes at Large, vol. vii, page 46). Cornplanter's name is given in other places in several forms, all differing in spelling but all aiming at the same pronunciation, and always with the same meaning attached. In this name we have the termination *e-oh*, iden-

* *Sandusky* is from *Sa-anduste*, "large bodies or pools of water;" and *Sa-anduste*, in the course of time, transposed itself into *Sandusky*. There is a theory that the *Sa-andustes*, or a portion of them, settled at one time along the upper Susquehanna, and possibly the river may have been known to the Delawares as *Sa-an-duste-hanna*, or river of the *Sa-andustes*. If the "t" in this name got transposed into "k" in *Sandusky*, why not in the other case also? The *que* in *Susquehanna*, however, is more probably from *cwesi*, the Delaware name of the pine tree.

tical with the second and third syllables in *O-hee-o*, and they stand for *handsome* in the one case as for *beautiful* in the other. Morgan, in his 'Iroquois League,' gives us *te-car-ne-o-di* as the Seneca for *lake*, and says:

It means something *more* than lake. It includes the idea of nearness, literally, "*at the lake*." Hence, if a Seneca were asked the name of Lake Ontario, he would answer, *Ne-ah-ga te-car-ne-o-di*, the lake at *Ne-ah-ga*. This was a Seneca village at the mouth of Niagara river. If an Onondago were asked the same question he would prefix *Swa-geh* to the word for lake, literally, "*the lake of Oswego*."—(Morgan, 'Iroquois League,' p. 413).

Now, *Konneatarl*, as Cornplanter gives his name (and it is not presumable that an unlettered Indian would give the word with literal exactness), is a very near approach to the Seneca word for lake; and it is a fair deduction that the lake and the Indian chief both bore the same name, and that *Conneaut* is but an Anglicized form of *Konneatarl*.

Connewanta and *Connewanga* are both Iroquois. There is a very great variation in spelling—*Conewago*, *Conewango*, *Conewanto*, *Canghwago*, *Conewingo*, *Cohnwahijah*, etc., etc.

A party of Indian deserters from the Iroquois settled near Montreal, and were known as the *Caughnuagas*. There is, I think, a stream or a place in Canada still bearing that name. Cusick, in his 'Narrative,' page 8, says that the original Indian name of the St. Lawrence was *Caugh-na-wa-ga*, or *Gā-na-wā-gā*, "the rapid river." Mr. E. B. O'Callaghan says, in *Historical Magazine*, vol. viii, page 373, that it means "at the rapids," from *onawa*, rapid, and *Ke, at*, custom permitting the change of the initial *O* to *Kā*. Another writer in the same magazine, vol. x, page 322, says it signifies "stone in the water," or "stone in the rapid water." It was originally given, he says, to the site of Fonda, New York, where there is a big rock in the rapids of the river, so large that it is always visible. Morgan gives it as from *gā-no-wan-ges*, "fetid water," from the sulphur spring at Avon, New York. The name appears to have been a common one of general application. *Ga-no-wun-go*, "in the rapids," was probably the origin of *Conewango*, and *Conewago* probably from *ga-no-wan-ges*, "fetid waters."

Another name common to both states is *Mahoning*. It is from *ma-ho-m*, Delaware for a lick, with the locative *ing* attached, "*at the lick*." *Mahanoy* and *Mahongo*, in Schuylkill county, were licks, or places where the salt water oozed up or flowed out of the ground, and the deer and other animals came to lick the ground for the sake of the salt. *Mahony* creek is a stream flowing from a lick; *Mahoniety* or *Mahonititti* is a very small

lick, *tit* being a diminutive; and *Sinne-mahoning* has *achsinne*, stony, as a prefix—"at the stony lick."*

Shenango, in Mercer county, is identical with *Chenango* in New York, the latter having the French spelling. According to the Historical Magazine, vol. vii, page 322, "Conrad Weiser spelled it *Otseninskey*, but it was called by the Iroquois *Utseningo*, corrupted to *Tseningo* and thence to *Chenango*." The *nin*, as pronounced by the French, would easily be mistaken for *nan*. On the other hand, Morgan, in his 'League of the Iroquois,' gives it as from *O-che-nang*, "bull thistles." There is no good reason why an Iroquois name should not be found on the borders between Pennsylvania and Ohio, although the names generally in that region are Algonkin. It may have been transplanted, or have been applied by the Iroquois direct. The duplication of Indian names is not uncommon. An illustration of such duplication is to be found in the case of *Saucon*, or *Saukunk*. This was the name of the Indian town at the mouth of Beaver river, and the town itself was a general rendezvous for Indian warriors and travelers and traders of all kinds. The name is common to similar spots at the outlets of streams. It is found in *Saucon*, a creek in Lehigh county, Pennsylvania; in *Saco* and *Sagadahock* in Maine; in *Saginaw*,† and numerous other places.

Wheeling, West Virginia, is from *Wihlink*, "the place of the head," from the circumstance that the head of an Indian prisoner was once stuck up on a pole there. *Loyalhanna* is not called from some loyal Hannah among the early settlers thereon, but from *Lawelhanne*, "the middle stream." *Conoquenessing* is from *gunachquenesink*, "a long, straight course." The popular name comes very close to the original. *Conemaugh*, according to Heckewelder, is from *Tangamochki*, "little otter stream." *Amochqui* was the Delaware for canoe or boat, and the form given by

* There is in Indiana county, Pennsylvania, a stream called *Queen Mahon*, which would seem to indicate some queenly Irishwoman; but it is simply the result of attempting to convey, in English, the sound of an Indian name. It is from *cuwei-mahoni*, "pine trees lick," or a lick within a pine grove. *Que-mahoning*, in Somerset county, Pennsylvania, is another form of the same name; and I venture to suggest that *Allequippa*—called an Indian queen in her day—is traceable to the same source. *Alle* is the same as in *Allegheny*, "beautiful" or "fair, and *cuwei*, "pine tree." This accounts for all but the final syllable, about which I am unable to speak. *Allegrappa*, on the Allegheny mountains, is the same word slightly varied.

† Schoolcraft derives *Saginaw* from the *Sacs*, who were at one time settled there, and says it means the town of the *Sacs* or *Sauks*; but it is more likely that the latter got their name from their settlement at the outlet of a stream. *Saukunk* denotes outlet—the outlet of a small into a large stream, and it is always applied either to the mouth of the stream itself or to some place at the mouth. *Kuy-a-ho-gus* was a term similarly used by the Iroquois; hence, *Cuy-a-ho-ga*—the outlet of a stream into the lake.

Heckewelder would seem to mean "little canoe" rather than "little otter stream." The river is too shallow for any but the smallest canoes. The *Kiskiminitis*, according to the same authority, had an origin similar to the prayer of Ajax for light—"give me but light and Ajax asks no more." A band of Indians, encamped on the banks of this stream, were attacked during the darkness of the night, and the prayer of a chief to *Gischga Manito*, or the Great Spirit, to cause daylight to appear, gave the present name to the stream. [This is a little fanciful, but it is all the interpretation that is to be had.] *Pymatuning*, in Mercer county, Pennsylvania, is from *Pihmtonink*, "the place of the man with the crooked mouth." Heckewelder adds, naively, "I knew this man perfectly well." That would seem to settle it. *Neshannock* is from *nisch*, "two," and *hanne*, "stream," "two adjoining streams."

The name of the *Youghiogheny* seems rough and harsh, and its pronunciation is a stumbling-block to all beginners. Heckewelder gives *Yoxiogani* as a variant reading, and it certainly is easier mastered than the other form. He gives the Indian term as *Juh-wiak-hanne*, the *h* in *yuh* having the force of *ch* in *loch*. Changing the *j* to *y* we get the Indian pronunciation as *yuch*, which is duplicated in *yough*, the *ou* in German being equal to our double *o*, or *oo*. This has been corrupted into *yaugh* or *yauch*, and the river is now called the *Yough* for short, the *ou* having the sound of the same letters in "*bought*." The meaning is given as a "stream running a contrary or crooked course," which, from its extreme crookedness, is characteristic of it.

Of the meaning of *Monongahela* there is no difference of opinion, but no ingenuity has yet sufficed to analyze it properly. The word is admitted to be Algonkin, but no one has found a clue to its etymology. It has always been known in its present form in Pennsylvania, but in Western Virginia, where the river has its rise, it is called *Mo-non-ga-lia*. Vulgarly, it is pronounced *Mon-a-ga-hail*. Reverend D. Jones, in his 'Journal of Two Visits Made to Some Indians on the West Side of the River Ohio, in the Years 1772-3,' page 10, says:

Monongahela, according to the Indian pronunciation, is *Meh-mon-a-wan-ge-he-lah*, which signifies "*Falling-in-bank-river*." From the richness of the soil the banks of the river frequently break and fall into the stream. Hence it takes its name. See Historical Magazine, volume iv, page 180.

Albert Gallatin, who lived on this river, and who was a proficient student in Indian languages, in 'Transactions of the Ethnological Society,' volume ii, says that the word is a compound of several words; that it

means "a river the banks of which fall in," which is very expressive; but that it is impossible to dissect it into primitive words. He confesses to having tried it and having failed. He spells it *Me-nan-gi-hilla*.

The name of the *Juniata* is supposed by some to be Iroquois. Heckewelder does not give it in his list of Indian names, although a tyro might suppose that *Gumminadi*, "they stay long," or *Gunniaté*, "it is long since they were there," both of which he applied to Conneaut, were more applicable to the *Juniata* than to Conneaut, the former being within Delaware territory and the latter not. The Delawares pronounced it *Juch-niada*, or *Chuch-niada*. The Iroquois had a path leading directly to a settlement of Shawanese at or near Bedford, where they hunted every year and remained a long time. Its headwaters were renowned as hunting places for elk, deer and beaver. At the conference at Lancaster, June 30, 1744, the governor of Pennsylvania, in answer to a complaint that the Conoy Indians had been ill-treated where they lived and had resolved to remove to Shamokin, said:

I well remember the coming down of one of the Conoy Indians with a paper setting forth that the Conoys had come to a resolution to leave the land reserved for them by the proprietors, but he made no complaints to me of ill usage from the white people. The reason he gave for their removal was that the settling of the white people all around them had made deer scarce, and that therefore they made choice to remove to *Juniata* for the benefit of hunting.

This bears out the reputation which the *Juniata* had with the Iroquois, but it gives us no clue to the meaning of the name, and I have been unable to find anywhere any definition of it or hint as to its meaning, unless we have it, as above, in *gunniaté*.

The last name I will here refer to is *Venango*. Its present form is French; but Day, in his 'Historical Collections,' says the Indian form was *In-nun-gah*. In Seneca the word for "hand" is *O-nun-kaah*, but it is never safe to base conclusions on a mere resemblance in form or sound. As to its signification, I quote from Day, 'Historical Collections,' 636:

Venango river was the name given by the French to French creek (which was called *Toradacoin* by the Senecas.) The word *Venango* is a corruption from the Indian word *In-nun-gah*, which had some reference to a rude but indecent figure carved upon a tree, which the Senecas found when they first came to this region.

Mr. Huidekoper, in an article in the Magazine of American History, volume i, page 684, says:

The name *Venango*, according to Reverend Timothy Alden, editor of the Allegheny Magazine in 1816, and occasionally a missionary to the Indians on the reservation in Warren county, came from an obscene picture carved on a tree at the mouth of French creek. The translator of Pouchat, in a note, says it is derived from a Seneca word, *Un-num-dah*. It would seem that a more natural derivation of this name might be found in the original Indian word for the place as given in General Washington's

letter to Governor Dinwiddie, of April 27, 1754, viz., *We-nin-go*, a rendition also given by several writers of that period. As the French have no W in their alphabet, and use a V in place of it, and also pronounce *nin* very much like *nan* to the common ear, the transition from *Wenigo* to *Venango*, under French occupancy, seems easy and natural. That the Mingo (Iroquois) Indians had settlements in the valley of French creek is well known. In 'Western Annals,' page 303, it is stated that General Brodhead, in 1779, was sent to strike at the Mingo and Munsey Indians on French creek. Whether *Mengwe*, *Mingo*, *Wenigo* and *Venango* sprang from some common root in the Indian tongue may be an interesting subject for a philologist making a study of the aboriginal languages.

This gives us a plausible reason for the transition of *Wenigo* into *Venango*, but it does not tell us what *Wenigo* means, while it casts grave doubt upon the only attempt at a derivation that we have. I can see no relation between *Mingo* and *Wenigo*, such as is here suggested. The Iroquois were called *Mengwe*, or *Mingoes*, by the Delawares, but the latter never called themselves by that name. If *Wenigo* is an Iroquois word it can have no relation to *Mingo*; and if it is a Delaware word it is certain that Heckewelder did not so recognize it. He does not claim *Venango* as of Delaware origin, nor does he refer to it at all, although he defines other Indian names in the same region.

RUSSELL ERRETT.

OHIO UNIVERSITY.

The Ohio University, situate at Athens, Athens county, Ohio, is the oldest seminary of learning in the state, or in the Northwest Territory. It is probably the oldest institution of the kind west of the Alleghany mountains. The history of the university dates back to the year 1787, the date of the celebrated "Ordinance for the Government of the Northwest Territory." That ordinance contained the following provision, subsequently copied into the constitution of the United States and that of Ohio, and into the law organizing the university:

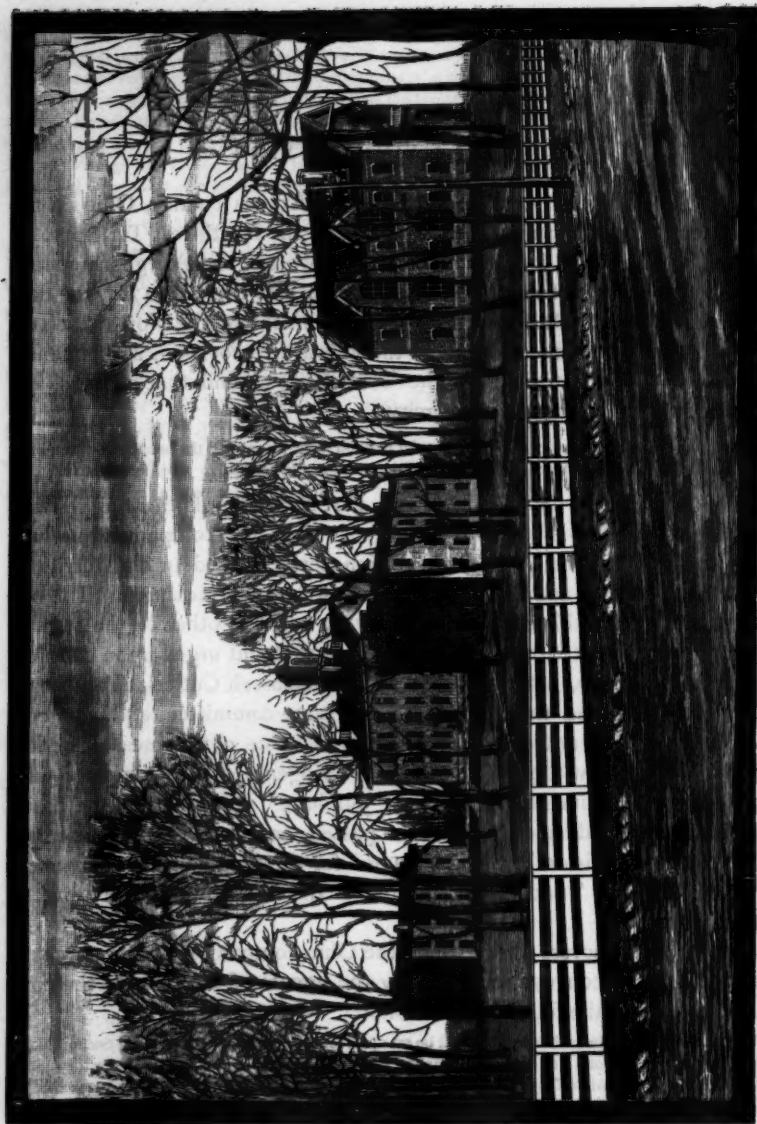
Religion, morality and knowledge being essential to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of instruction shall forever be encouraged by legislative provision.

Kindred to this ordinance, and as a first step towards carrying its wise and beneficent provisions into effect, was the Ohio company's purchase from congress of one and a half million acres of land in the territory. The "ordinance" and the "purchase" were twin measures. The one was passed on the thirteenth of July, 1787, and the other on the twenty-third of the same month. They were advocated and urged upon congress by the same parties, with such men as Dr. Manasseh Cutler at their head. They were reported to congress by the same committee, and were conjointly considered and debated by congress. One of the measures could not have passed without the other. The agents of the company were unwilling and declined to make the "purchase" except upon the condition that the "ordinance" should be passed, and upon the further condition that the provision hereinafter named for the founding and endowment of "an university" and the promotion of education should form a part of the contract.

The law of congress under which the Ohio company made its purchase, and the deed of conveyance made by the agents of congress to the company, contained the following provision:

That Section No. 16 in each township shall be set apart for the support of schools, and Section No. 29 for the support of religion; and that two complete townships shall be given perpetually for the support of an university, to be laid off by the purchaser or purchasers as near the centre as may be (so that the same may be of good land), to be applied to the intended object by the legislature of the state.

This provision was a *sine qua non* in the purchase, and without it or



OHIO UNIVERSITY, ATHENS, OHIO

some such provision, in all probability the ordinance never would have passed.

Such, in its remote beginnings, was the origin of the Ohio University. It was the first institution of learning endowed by congress. It was the offspring of the ordinance of 1787 and the crowning provision of the laws of congress authorizing the purchase by the Ohio company.

The contract for the purchase was executed on the twenty-seventh of October, 1787, and the company immediately set about making preparations for carrying it into practical effect. On the seventh of April, 1788, a colony of pioneers, under the guidance and direction of General Rufus Putnam, landed at Marietta and made the first settlement in the then unbroken wilderness of the west. The Indian war and other causes prevented the adoption of any measure for locating or organizing the university till 1795. In that year the two "college townships," now known as Athens and Alexander townships, containing seventy-two square miles, and situated in the central part of the "purchase," were selected for the use of the university.

The territorial legislature, in 1799, appointed Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Ives Gilman and Jonathan Stone as commissioners, "to lay off in the most suitable place within said townships a town plat, which should contain a square for the university; also lots suitable for house lots and gardens for a president, professors, tutors, etc., bordering or encircled by spacious commons, and such a number of town lots adjoining the said commons and out-lots as they should think would be for the advantage of the university. Under this commission the town of Athens was laid off and platted, substantially as it now stands, as and for the *situs* of the university; and the report of the commissioners and their work were approved by the legislature. The plat contains a *campus*, or "college green" of ten acres, in a square form, the *situs* for the college buildings being located on a gentle elevation in the centre of the *campus*.

In January, 1802, the university was incorporated, under the name of "The American University," by an act of the territorial legislature; but this act was superseded by the act of the state legislature of February 18, 1804, which is still in force, and under which the university has ever since continued to act. This act provides that the trustees of the university shall be appointed by the state legislature, and that the governor of the state shall *ex officio*, be a member of the board. By this act a board of trustees was appointed as follows: Rufus Putnam, Benjamin Tappen, Elijah Backus,

Dudley Woodbridge, Bazaliel Wells, Nathaniel Massie, Daniel Symms, Daniel Story, Samuel Carpenter, James Kilbourne, Griffin Green, senior, and Joseph Darlington. Under the provisions of this act of 1804 the lands of the university were appraised and leased in parcels, on renewable leases, at a rental equal to their appraised valuation, but subject to re-appraisal, and a consequent increase of rent, at the end of each thirty years. The state, however, by subsequent legislation, strange to say, repealed this provision for reappraisal. But for the repeal of that provision the revenues of the university would now have been more than five times their present amount.

Under the act of 1804 the university has steadily and persistently, for a period of now some eighty-one years, been quietly and faithfully carrying on its work of usefulness. Being a *quasi* state institution, and conducted on non-sectarian principles, it is without particular friends or interested parties to set forth its advantages and deserts, and, therefore, its notoriety has by no means kept pace with its merits and its claims upon the public. The best evidence of its usefulness is found in its long list of distinguished graduates, now, or lately, filling so many important stations in the country. The late Thomas Ewing, the first graduate of the institution, stands at the head of this list. As a passport to high positions in life, a diploma from the Ohio University has ever been found equal to that of any other institution in the country.

The university is now, as it were, taking a new start. The state has lately, but sparingly, come to its assistance in the shape of appropriations. By this means she has been enabled to repair and amplify her college buildings, add to her libraries and apparatus and increase her number of students. Both sexes are admitted as students, and one student from each county in the state is admitted free of tuition fees. Students are permitted to pursue a purely scientific or a classical course of study, at their option, and receive diplomas accordingly.

The former presidents of the university were: Rev. Jacob Lindley, 1809-22; Rev. James Irvine, 1822-24; Robert G. Milton, D.D., 1824-39; William McGuffey, D.D., LL.D., 1839-43; Alfred Ryors, D.D., 1848-52; Solomon Howard, D.D., LL.D., 1852-72; William H. Scott, A.M., 1873-83. The present faculty consists of: Charles W. Super, A.M., Ph.D., president and professor of Greek and ethics; Carl Leo Mees, M.D., professor of physical science; David J. Evans, A.M., professor of Latin; William Hoover, A.M., professor of mathematics; Emily F. Wheeler,

A. M., professor of modern languages; H. T. Sudduth, A. M., professor of rhetoric and English literature; Eli Dunkle, A. M., principal of preparatory department; H. T. Sudduth, secretary.

The local attractions of the place are said to be equal to those of any like institution in the state. The college buildings, four in number, stand, as has been said, on a slight eminence in the *campus*, which is enclosed, studded with forest and ornamental trees and surrounded and traversed by ample walks. The town contains about three thousand inhabitants and is noted for its healthiness and the moral tone of its society. Three railroads centre at the town, thus giving easy access to all parts of the country. No more desirable place, perhaps, can be found in the state where parents can send or bring their sons and daughters for education.

JOHN WELCH.

Athens, O., 1885.

ISRAEL LUDLOW AND THE NAMING OF CINCINNATI.

Sir Edmund Ludlow, well known as one of the patriot "regicides" of King Charles I, was of an ancient and honorable English family. His father, Sir Henry Ludlow, was a member of the English parliament, whose seat his son subsequently occupied. Sir Edmund immediately attached himself inflexibly to the Republican party, was one of the judges of Charles I, and appended his signature to his death warrant. He held many important commissions, military and civil, under the royal government and afterward under Cromwell, until the latter dissolved the Long Parliament. That action Ludlow disapproved and withstood Cromwell "face to face," thenceforward refusing to submit to his personal government as lord protector. He at once retired to his house in Essex, over the door of which was placed this inscription:

"Omne solum fortis patria, quia patris."

[Every land, because it was his father's, is to the brave man his own country.]

After the restoration, Sir Edmund escaped persecution by fleeing to the continent, and died in exile at Vevay, Switzerland, in 1693, where a monument erected to his memory may yet be seen in the Church of St. Martin.

From the "municipal and parliamentary borough and market-town Ludlow," in Shropshire, England, came the grandfather of Colonel Israel Ludlow, who crossed the Atlantic ocean and settled in the colony of New Jersey. He was a member of this scattered historic family. The father, Colonel Cornelius Ludlow, had both hereditary and personal reasons for his honorable participation in the war of the American colonies against their oppressors when the time came for them to achieve their independence by arms and to assume a standing among the nations of the earth. Thus Israel Ludlow's "life-blood tracked its parent lake" to war-proof fathers.

Israel Ludlow was born in 1765 upon his father's farm near Morristown, New Jersey. The war for independence opened upon his native land when he was only twelve years of age. The very fields over which his youthful feet wandered became ensanguined, almost beneath his eye, with the blood of his kindred. The ardor of his patriotism was enkindled by the memories of the part his forefathers had taken in the struggle for liberty.

After being thus schooled in the stirring times of the revolution and, in the years immediately succeeding, acquiring a collegiate education, he was called, by reason of his "abilities, intelligence and integrity," to undertake the survey of the Miami purchase. This call was made upon him in 1787 by a letter from Thomas Hutchins, then surveyor-general of the United States. Ludlow was thus ordered to report to Judge Symmes.

When, on September 22, 1788, Ludlow arrived with Judge Symmes, Denman, Patterson, Filson, and others for the purpose of laying off a town opposite the mouth of the Licking river, he was doubtless the youngest, while his official relation to the enterprise presupposed him to be as intelligent as any one of the historic party.

Ludlow's business was to survey the Miami purchase, and Filson's to lay off the town of "Losantiville" according to a plan agreed upon at Lexington. But before a bearing could be taken by the compass, or a chain could be stretched on the ground, the eastern limit of the purchase had to be ascertained. This Denman, the purchaser from Symmes, upon whose ground the town was to be platted, required. Congress had said that the east line of the purchase should stop exactly twenty miles from the mouth of the Great Miami river. Denman, the cautious, as a prerequisite demanded the ascertainment of this line before the village should be laid out on the ground; and to this task Ludlow first addressed himself

by a survey of the river front, Ludlow being the first man to stretch a chain upon the site of Cincinnati.

While Ludlow and Denman were thus engaged, and while awaiting the result of that survey, Filson, Patterson, Symmes and escort made an incursion into the interior in the direction of the Great Miami. This was about the first of October, 1788. From this expedition Filson never more returned.

The mysterious disappearance of Filson, supposed to have been killed by the Indians, before anything had been done by him—a stake driven or a line marked—produced a profound sensation in this band of pioneers. Filled with apprehension, and seemingly baffled in the enterprise, the whole party returned at once to Limestone—now Maysville—Ky.

After the arrival of Symmes, Patterson and Denman at Limestone, as already mentioned, Filson's brother, who had been with the party when John Filson was killed, considering that he had paid nothing and had only a nominal claim upon the property, notified the surviving partners that the legal representatives of the deceased would demand nothing under the contract of August 22, whereupon it was determined that the proper person to take Filson's place in the new enterprise was the young surveyor Ludlow. He was chosen because of his professional fitness for the position, and he entered at once upon the work of making a plat—taking Filson's as a model—according to which he eventually laid out the section and fractional section constituting the original Denman purchase.

Beginning with the survey of Cincinnati in 1788, we find this young surveyor closing his official career in 1804, in the prime of life. In the meantime he had surveyed the whole of the Miami purchase as directed by Surveyor-general Hutchins, of which he had made an acceptable report to Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the United States treasury; had laid out the present cities of Hamilton and Dayton, being the sole owner of the former and part owner of the latter, his co-proprietors being Generals St. Clair, Wilkinson and Dayton. His last official business consisted in establishing the boundary line between the United States and the Indian Territory according to the terms of the Greenville treaty agreed upon by the Indian tribes and General Wayne in 1795. This was a dangerous and laborious undertaking, most of which was accomplished with only three active woodsmen as spies to give notice of danger.

The Filson plan contemplated the name "Losantiville." And yet the contract between the proprietors and purchasers, found among the papers

of Colonel Patterson, bears upon its face the names of "Losantiburg" and "Losantiville." What does this mean? Simply that no name had been fully agreed upon, or that more than one name had been suggested; or that until the time came to record a plat and make deeds—which did not occur until September, 1795, when the title of Judge Symmes was confirmed—the name of the town might be considered an open question. Indeed, upon this very memorandum of agreement for the sale and distribution of lots in Losantiville, the name of "Cincinnati" also appears in the form of a blank deed and in the handwriting of Colonel Ludlow.

Was "Cincinnati" ever mentioned as the name of our city before the arrival of Governor St. Clair? If it was, then the part taken by the governor in designating "Cincinnati" as the county-seat of "Hamilton county" in the order creating the courts and appointing judges thereof, was nothing more than adopting "Cincinnati" instead of "Losantiville" as the name of the young and insignificant village. How did it reach St. Clair's ears? By common fame and from the lips of Colonel Ludlow, the surveyor, who was the clerk of the court St. Clair established, whose right it was (in conjunction with his co-proprietors) to give name to the plat as well as to the streets and commons and squares upon that plat. The evidence adduced by the editor of the St. Clair papers consists of the statement of Benjamin Van Cleve, who arrived one day later than Governor St. Clair. He says Governor St. Clair changed the name. The other witness is Judge Symmes, to the same effect; but in one of his letters Judge Symmes claims the honor of suggesting the name himself, and soon after he wrote to the Witherspoons and Smiths of New Jersey to obtain a correct spelling of the name as to its termination, whether it should be *ta* or *ti*. Then the editor claims that the prominence of the governor as a member of the Society of Cincinnati was another moving cause to selecting the name. We admit that the existence of that society was the moving cause, but we are enabled to show that it had operated upon other minds as well some time before the arrival of the ill-fated governor. Would St. Clair change the name of a town, of his own motion, in which he had no property interest, which he never saw until the day before he issued his order creating the courts, without consulting the proprietors? He would have no right to do so. The fair and reasonable presumption is that after consultation (certainly with Ludlow, the surveyor of the town, the proprietor of a two-thirds' interest in his own right, and as the agent of Denman), St. Clair adopted the name suggested by

Ludlow—a name which, as may be seen from the following testimony, was not only mentioned for more than a year prior to the coming of St. Clair, but was selected and adopted by Denman, Patterson and Ludlow in the winter of 1788–9, and was inscribed upon the plat made by Ludlow to take the place of the one first made by Filson, which was destroyed in a personal altercation between Colonel Ludlow and Joel Williams.

The “popular notion”—the language of Charles Cist—is that St. Clair issued a proclamation changing the name from “Losantiville” to “Cincinnati” upon his arrival, January 2, 1790. This “notion” has its origin simply in the order issued by the governor organizing the courts of “Hamilton county,” in which he appoints Israel Ludlow clerk, and designates “Cincinnati” as the county-seat. That is all.

“To these testimonies,” says Mr. Cist, “and to the popular notion that the place was given its present name by General St. Clair on the second of January, 1790, I have to oppose the testimony, among others, of Jacob Fowler and Samuel Newell, highly intelligent men and old settlers—Fowler having supplied the garrison at Fort Washington with buffalo meat from its establishment up to St. Clair’s arrival, and afterward. They both aver that from their earliest knowledge of it they never heard it called Losantiville; and Fowler, who was as clear-headed in his recollection of the past as any man I have ever known, stated to me explicitly that he never heard it called by any other name than that of Cincinnati.”

In the chancery case of the “Town of Cincinnati *vs.* Joel Williams,” Colonel Ludlow testified “that in the fall of 1788 he became, by purchase from Denman, a proprietor of one-third of the section and fraction on which the town of Cincinnati is laid out; that in the month of January, 1789, this deponent, together with Robert Patterson, Esq., of Kentucky, landed on said ground, with a number of others, to lay out the town of Cincinnati and form a settlement there.” Colonel Patterson testified “that he, in company with Colonel Ludlow and others, landed on the ground in January, 1789, for the purpose of laying off the town of Cincinnati.” And in neither of these depositions is the name Losantiville mentioned.

Judge McMillan swore “that he was one of the number who formed the settlement of Cincinnati, December 28, 1787, that a few days afterwards a plan of the town of Cincinnati was drafted by Israel Ludlow.”

Matthias Denman says:

Israel Ludlow was appointed by this deponent as agent, as far as this deponent was interested, to lay

out the town of Cincinnati that the town was laid out in the year 1789, the plan and proceedings relating to the same were, by Ludlow and Patterson, submitted to this deponent, and were approved, sanctioned and confirmed.

The following are Judge Jacob Burnet's statements :

Early in the next season Mr. Denman entered into a new contract with Colonel Patterson and Israel Ludlow to lay out a town on the same ground, but on a different plan from the one formerly agreed upon. To that town they gave the name of Cincinnati, and by that name it was surveyed and known in the fall of 1789.

This was six months before the arrival of St. Clair. Again, Judge Burnet says :

A plat of the contemplated town was made out, and Losantiville agreed upon as its name ; but before any step was taken to carry that contract into effect and before a chain had been stretched on the ground Mr. Filson was killed by the Indians, not having done anything to fulfill his part of the contract, in consequence of which it was forfeited, and the projected town fell through. This is all that was ever done towards the establishment of a town by the name of Losantiville. Yet, as was natural, the settlement then just beginning was for some time called by the intended name of the projected town.

Judge Burnet again says :

I will state that at an early period professional duty made it necessary for me to investigate the facts connected with the origin and establishment of Cincinnati, which did not extend to any other individual then or now living, and it so happened that the performance of that duty was required at a time when the town was almost in its incipient state, and when all the original proprietors and most of the first adventurers and settlers were living either in the village or in places easily accessible.

Without presuming to claim more tact or industry than belongs to the profession generally, it may be presumed, considering the sources of correct information then within my reach, that I must at least have ascertained the name of the place—the establishment and history of which I was investigating. . . . I was employed to collect and perpetuate the testimony applicable to the case, and in executing that commission my inquiries were directed to the original proprietors and to such other persons as were likely to have any knowledge of the facts touching the laying out of the town and the matters contained on the plat.

You will perceive that to sustain the right of the town to the common it was necessary to prove the correctness of the plat recorded by Ludlow, which affirmed Cincinnati to be the true, original and only name of the town.

Speaking of the controversy between Colonel Ludlow and Joel Williams as to the public common, Judge Burnet says :

On one occasion it terminated in a violent personal conflict, in which the original plat of the town, made and agreed to by the proprietors at Limestone in the winter of 1788-9, bearing upon its face the name of Cincinnati, was torn in pieces, each party retaining a part of it.

If, therefore, there was a plat made in 1788-9, as a substitute for Filson's, bearing the name "Cincinnati," who made that plat? If Denman and Patterson had been induced to drop "Losantiville," or "Losantiburg," or "Losanterville," according to Joel Williams, who influenced them? who but Colonel Ludlow, the son of Colonel Cornelius Ludlow, and the son-in-law of General James Chambers, a member of the "Society of the Cincinnati?"—who more likely than the youthful, brave and thoughtful surveyor—the tall, accomplished and commanding Ludlow,

who, for more than a year prior to the arrival of General St. Clair, toiled with compass and chain in laying out our streets in the dense forests that, in solemn beauty, templed the site of our city? Of what was he thinking, when thus surveying, more than of the name of the town he was thus founding?

That was the martial age in our history. Fort Washington went up under his eye. Washington was then the president of the "Society of the Cincinnati." Many of the earliest settlers were soldiers of the revolution, or their descendants, and were connected with the society. At that time the causeless war against the society was at its height. There were no names more familiar to the public tongue than those of Washington and "Cincinnati." The very air was a "chartered libertine" that breathed the name which our city now bears—a name that was in keeping with the spirit of those times, breathing patriotism and not pedantry, signifying "an incessant devotion to preserve inviolate those exalted rights and liberties of human nature for which they have fought and bled, and without which the high rank of a rational being is a curse instead of a blessing; an unalterable determination to promote and cherish between the respective states that union and national honor so essentially necessary to their happiness and the future dignity of the American empire."

Ludlow is in his grave. He sleeps well. Malice can not now touch him. Above his dust rises the First Presbyterian Church of Cincinnati, upon a square he intended for churches and schools and courts. The streets he surveyed through "the deep, tangled wildwood" are now channels of trade and lined with thousands of dwellings. A hundred years will soon have passed since first he landed at Yeatman's cove with a band of pioneers to found a city to which he gave the name it bears. He has no other monument. A tablet may be seen in the walls of that church containing an inscription penned by the loving hand of his daughter—but two years of age when her father died—the late Sarah Bella McLean, widow of Justice John McLean of the United States supreme court:

SACRED TO THE MEMORY OF
ISRAEL LUDLOW,
ONE OF THE ORIGINAL PROPRIETORS OF CINCINNATI,
WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE
AT LUDLOW STATION, JANUARY 21, 1804.
IN THE 39TH YEAR OF HIS AGE.

HENRY BENTON TEETOR.

PITTSBURGH.

III.

ITS INFLUENCE IN THE NAVIGATION OF THE OHIO.

Almost a hundred years ago a very remarkable man made a wonderful prediction in regard to the navigation of the Ohio river. The man was Manasseh Cutler, D. D., LL. D., of Ipswich, Massachusetts, minister, scientist, statesman, the agent of the New England Ohio company, who succeeded in purchasing for that organization the lands about Marietta, and in securing as a condition of their settlement the passage of the famous Ordinance of 1787, forever prohibiting slavery in the old Northwest Territory. The prediction—contained in a pamphlet published in 1787, advocating immigration to the Ohio country—was:

The current down the Ohio and Mississippi, for heavy articles that suit the Florida (Mississippi) and West India markets, such as Indian corn, flour, beef, lumber, etc., will be more loaded than any streams on earth. . . . It is found by late experiments that sails are used to great advantage against the current of the Ohio; and it is worthy of observation that, in all probability, steamboats will be found to be of infinite service in all our river navigation.

This was written twenty years before Fulton's practically successful application of steam to navigation, and almost a quarter of a century before the building at Pittsburgh of the "New Orleans," the first steamboat which plowed the western waters. But Miller and Symington in Scotland, the same year that Dr. Cutler wrote, had fully demonstrated the feasibility of propelling boats by steam; the Marquis de Jouffrey had worked a steamboat on the Seine in 1780, and both James Ramsey and "poor John Fitch" had satisfied Washington that the operation of boats by steam was entirely practicable. Fitch launched his boat on the Delaware in 1788, but though he was satisfied of its success, he abandoned his invention, being embarrassed by debt and harassed by many cares. He, too, made a prediction. He prophesied that in less than a century the rivers would be swarming with steamboats. "The day will come," he wrote in the manuscript which he sealed and deposited in the Philadelphia library, to be opened thirty years after his death, "when some more powerful man will get fame and riches from my invention, but nobody will believe that

poor John Fitch can do anything worthy of attention."* The work of John Stevens and Chancellor Livingston followed in 1797, and of Oliver Evans in 1802-3; but these and Fulton's own continuous efforts were all only experiments preliminary to the practical success achieved by the latter at Pittsburgh in 1811.

Apropos of the steamboat, it may not be amiss to state that one of the principles embodied in its construction was exhibited here at Pittsburgh long before steam was applied to navigation and just a half century before the pioneer steamboat was built. Information of this crude, initial suggestion of the steamboat is preserved in the diary of James Kenny,† who was a trader at Fort Pitt. Under date of April 4, 1761, he writes:

A young man, called Wm. Ramsey, has made two little boates, being squair at ye sterns and joined together at ye sterns by a swivel make ye two in form of one boate, but will turn round shorter than a boate of ye same length or raise with more safety in falls and in case of striking rocks; he has also made an engine that goes with wheels, closed in a box, to be worked by one man, by sitting on ye end of ye box and tredding on treddles at bottom with his feet, sets ye wheels agoing which work scullers or short paddles fixed over ye gunnels, turning them round; ye under ones, always laying hold on ye water, will make ye boat goe as if two men rowed; and he can steer at ye same time by lines, like plow lines.

This was probably the first "side-wheeler" on the Ohio.

From the beginning up to the era of steamboats the progress of navigation on the Ohio was slow. The first movement of commerce upon this highway, of which there is any record, was in the year 1756, when about thirty batteaux, manned by one hundred and fifty French and Indians, and laden with pork, flour, brandy, tobacco, peas, corn, etc., for the garrison of Fort Duquesne, came up the river from the Mississippi, occupying about three months in the trip.‡ In 1777 a boat load of powder and military stores was brought to Fort Pitt from New Orleans. In that same year, before February 23, boat building may be said to have been commenced at this locality as a business, for at that date arrived "fourteen boat carpenters and sawyers from Philadelphia, and were set to work on the Monongahela, fourteen miles above the fort, near a sawmill."|| They built thirty batteaux forty feet long, nine feet wide and thirty-two inches deep, intended to transport troops in case it became necessary to invade the Indian country. Major Isaac Craig, in 1791 and 1792, con-

* "Poor John Fitch" removed to the west, died near Bardstown, Kentucky, in 1799, and his bones lie near the bank of the Ohio, in accordance with his request to be buried "where the music of the steam engine may soothe his spirit and the song of the boatman enliven the stillness of his resting-place."

† Historical Magazine, 1858.

‡ Statement of John McKinney, English pioneer at Fort Duquesne.

Craig's 'History of Pittsburgh.'

tracted for the building of boats to be used in transporting the military to the Indian country, in the latter year the construction of fifty large ones being provided for.

From the time of the revolution the broad current of the Ohio has been constantly freighted with commerce. During the early portion of the period an almost continuous flotilla of keel and flatboats and "broad-horns" carried the Kentucky pioneers to their new homes and armies to the Indian country. Then immigrants found their way to the southern portions of Ohio, and finally to Indiana and Illinois in the same way.

In July, 1794, quite a marked step of advancement was accomplished in the establishment of the first regular mail service between Pittsburgh and Cincinnati. No communication could then be safely carried on between the head of the Ohio and Kentucky or the military posts along the river, by a route through the territory now constituting the Buckeye state, and so a line of mail boats was arranged to run from Wheeling to Limestone and back once in every two weeks. From Wheeling to Pittsburgh mails were carried on horseback. The mail-boats were "twenty-four feet long, made like a whale-boat and steered with a rudder. They were manned by a steersman and four oarsmen to each boat. The men had each a musket and a supply of ammunition" for protection against the Indians. Three boats were employed and they plied regularly, stopping at Marietta and Gallipolis. This mode of carrying the mail was continued until 1798 and the service was never but once interfered with by the savages. The same year that this system was put in operation an improvement was made in the passenger traffic by the establishment of a regular line of boats between Cincinnati and Pittsburgh. An advertisement of this project appeared in the *Centinel of the Northwestern Territory*, published at Cincinnati, under date of January 11, 1794, from which the following is a quotation:

Two boats, for the present, will start from Cincinnati for Pittsburgh and return to Cincinnati in the following manner, viz.: First boat will leave Cincinnati this morning at eight o'clock and return to Cincinnati so as to be ready to sail again in four weeks. The second boat will leave Cincinnati on Saturday, the thirtieth inst., and return to Cincinnati in four weeks, as above. And so regularly, each boat performing the voyage to and from Cincinnati and Pittsburgh *once in every four weeks*.

Two boats in addition to the above will shortly be completed and regulated in such a manner that one boat of the four will set out weekly from Cincinnati to Pittsburgh and return in like manner.

The proprietor of these boats, having maturely considered the many inconveniences and dangers incident to the common method hitherto adopted of navigating the Ohio, and being influenced by a love of philanthropy and a desire of being serviceable to the public, has taken great pains to render the accommodations on board the boats as agreeable and convenient as they could possibly be made.

No danger need be apprehended from the enemy, as every person on board will be under cover, made

proof against rifle or musket balls, with convenient port-holes for firing out of. Each of the boats is armed with six pieces, carrying a pound ball; also a number of good muskets, and amply supplied with plenty of ammunition, strongly manned with choice hands and the masters of approved knowledge.

A separate cabin from that designed for the men is partitioned off in each boat for accommodating ladies on their passage.

Passengers are supplied with provisions and liquors of all kinds, of the first quality, at the most reasonable rates possible.

The next interesting item in the history of Pittsburgh navigation projects is the construction of sea-going vessels. This enterprise had its inception in 1798, when, under pressure of the insolent department of France, the government, as one of the measures calculated to place the nation in a condition of defence, ordered the building of war galleys at this point. Major Isaac Craig, in a letter dated May 25, 1798, says:

On the nineteenth inst. the galley "President Adams" was launched and is now at anchor in the Allegheny. She will be completely equipped in a few days, and will, I am confident, be as fine a vessel of her burthen and construction as the United States possesses. The keel of the second galley is laid and other materials all prepared.

The latter, called the "Senator Ross," was completed the same year, but owing to low water was not launched until the spring of 1799. These were the first vessels competent for a sea voyage built upon the Ohio river, but there is no proof that they ever sailed salt water. The *St. Clair*, a brig of one hundred and ten tons, built at Marietta early in 1800, however, was the first rigged vessel built on the river, and she actually went to sea, clearing from Marietta in May, 1800, with a cargo of flour and pork, and, passing into the Gulf of Mexico in July, sailed to Havana under command of Commodore Whipple of revolutionary fame. She went subsequently to Philadelphia and was sold there.*

The building of sea-going vessels may be considered established as a business at Pittsburgh by John A. Tarascon, Brothers, James Berthoud & Co., in 1801. The founder and leading spirit of this firm of ship-builders was Louis Anastasius Tarascon, a Philadelphia merchant who had immigrated thither from France in 1794. His attention having been drawn to the project of building ships at Pittsburgh and clearing them for the West Indies and European ports, in order to ascertain its feasibility he sent, in 1799, two of his most trusted clerks to examine the course of the Ohio and Mississippi and inquire into other particulars bearing upon the problem. This report being in every way satisfactory, these two men, Charles Brugiere and James Berthoud, were associated by Mr Tarascon

*Twenty-three other sea-going vessels, designated as brigs, schooners and ships, were built at Marietta prior to 1808, one in 1814 and several more subsequent to 1844.

with himself and brother, John Anthony, in a partnership with the title already given, for the purpose of carrying on ship-building and other forms of business. They immediately opened a ship-yard, a rigging and sail-loft, a block factory and an anchor smithy shop. In 1801 they built the schooner *Amity* of one hundred and twenty tons and the ship *Pittsburgh* of two hundred and fifty tons, and sent them respectively to St. Thomas and Philadelphia with cargoes of flour. The *Pittsburgh*, after reaching the latter port, sailed for Bordeaux, France, and brought back a cargo of wines, brandy and other goods, a part of which were sent overland to Pittsburgh at a cost of six to eight cents per pound. In the following year they built the brig *Nanina* of two hundred and fifty tons, in 1803 the ship *Louisiana* of three hundred tons and in 1804 the ship *Western Trader* of four hundred tons. During the same period a number of ships were built at Elizabethtown, on the Monongahela river, among them the *Ann Jane*, celebrated in her day as one of the fastest sailors on American waters, and long used as a packet between New York and New Orleans. The passage of the embargo act effectually suspended the novel industry of building ocean ships two thousand miles inland, but the era of steam-boats came shortly afterwards and aided vastly in the development of prosperity in the river region of the west.

The "New Orleans," the first steamboat whose keel cleft the waters of the Ohio, as has been already said, was completed in 1811. The first notice of the practical undertaking of the new project which was to revolutionize inland commerce and eventually that of the world, appeared in *Cramer's Magazine Almanac* for 1810, and read as follows:

A company has been formed for the purpose of navigating the river Ohio in large boats, to be propelled by the power of steam engines. The boat now on the stocks is one hundred and thirty-eight feet keel and calculated for a freight as well as a passage boat between Pittsburgh and the falls of the Ohio.

The company alluded to was composed of Messrs. Fulton, Livingston and Rosenwalt, and the construction of the New Orleans was superintended by the last named gentleman. She was launched in March, and, being finished at a cost of forty thousand dollars, descended the river to Natchez in the following December, where she took in her first passengers and freight and proceeded to New Orleans on the twenty-fourth of the same month. Her capacity was between three and four hundred tons and she had comfortable accommodations for passengers in a cabin in the hold. She continued to ply between Natchez and New Orleans until the winter of 1814, when she ran upon a snag near Baton Rouge and was sunk. The

round trip was made in ten days and passengers were charged eighteen dollars each down and twenty-five dollars up. During the first year the New Orleans cleared twenty thousand dollars net and she was thus a profitable investment. Other companies were organized before this pioneer steamer was afloat, and several more were built as soon as practicable. The second steamboat constructed at Pittsburgh was a small one—twenty-five tons capacity—called the "Comet." She was owned by Samuel Smith and built by D. French, in 1812-13, and made one trip to Louisville in the latter year, after which she descended to New Orleans, and, after plying for a short time between that port and Natchez, was sold and her engine transferred to a cotton-gin. Next were built here, in 1813-14, the "Vesuvius" and the "Ætna," of about three hundred and forty tons each, both owned by the "Mississippi steamboat company." The "Vesuvius," commanded by Captain Ogden, left Pittsburgh in the spring of 1814 for New Orleans, near which city she was burned a little over two years later. The "Ætna," under command of Captain Gale, left for New Orleans in March, 1815, and was used between there and Natchez until 1822. The fourth steamer built in this vicinity was the "Enterprise," built at Brownsville, Pennsylvania. She made two trips to Louisville in 1814 and then left Pittsburgh for New Orleans on the first of December, with a cargo of cannon and guns, and afterwards was used in transporting troops upon the lower Mississippi. She was the first steamer that ever went up the rivers from New Orleans to Louisville (Shippingport) and accomplished that feat May 30, 1837, having been twenty-five days upon the trip. A number of leading citizens of Louisville gave a public dinner to Captain Henry M. Shreve, who commanded her, in honor of his success. Three steamers were built at Pittsburgh in 1816, the "Franklin," one hundred and twenty-five tons, by Messrs. Shiras and Cromwell; the "Oliver Evans," seventy-five tons, by George Evans; and the "Harriet," forty tons, by a Mr. Armstrong of Williamsport, Pennsylvania. All went to the lower river. The "Franklin" was sunk in 1819, and the "Oliver Evans" burst one of her boilers in April, 1817, killing eleven men. Up to 1816 grave doubts existed as to the practicability of navigating the Ohio by steamboats. A gentleman who in that year, with others, long watched the futile efforts of a stern wheeler to ascend the Horsetail ripple, five miles below Pittsburgh, afterwards wrote* that the unanimous conclusion of the company was that "such a contrivance might do for the

* Western Monthly Magazine,

Mississippi, . . . but that we of Ohio must wait for some more happy century of invention." The following year the public became more favorably impressed with the capabilities of steamboats, and building rapidly increased. In 1818 twenty-two steamboats were in use on the Ohio and Mississippi rivers, and twenty-three were in process of construction at different localities on the Ohio, viz.: nine at Pittsburgh, five each at Cincinnati and Louisville, two at Wheeling and one each at Limestone and Corydon.*

The number of steamboats built at Pittsburgh and vicinity from 1811 to 1835 appears from an official report, published in the latter year, to have been one hundred and ninety-six, of which the following are the names in chronological order :

- | | |
|--|---|
| 1811—New Orleans. | 1829—Citizen, Cora, Huntsville, Huron, Home, |
| 1812—Comet. | Huntsman, Hudson, Hatchee, Herald, Industry, |
| 1814—Ætna, Buffalo, Vesuvius. | Kentuckian, Lark, Mohican, Monticello, Nile, |
| 1816—James Monroe. | Packet, Red Rover, Ruhama, Tallyho, Talma, |
| 1817—Franklin, George Madison, General Jackson. | Trenton, Tariff, Uncle Sam, Uncas, Victory. |
| 1818—Allegheny, Expedition, Independence, James | 1830—Allegheny, Abeona, Enterprise, Eagle, Gon- |
| Ross, St. Louis, Tamerlane, Thomas Jefferson. | dola, Gleaner, Mobile, New Jersey, Ohio, Olive, |
| 1819—Balise Packet, Car of Commerce, Cumber- | Peruvian, Sam Patch. |
| land, Dolphin, Olive Branch, Rapide, Telegraph, | 1831—Argus, Antelope, Boston, Baltic, Carrolton, |
| Western Engineer. | Columbus, Courier, Choctaw, Dove, Henry Clay, |
| 1822—Favorite, General Neville. | Louisville, Mohawk, Napoleon, Pittsburgh, |
| 1823—Eclipse, Phoenix, Pittsburgh and St. Louis | Planter, Scout, Woodsman. |
| Packet, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, Rambler. | 1832—Chief Justice Marshall, Chester, Chickasaw, |
| 1824—American, Herald, President. | Despatch, Free Trader, Fame, Gazelle, Juniata, |
| 1825—Bolivar, Friendship, General Brown, General | Lancaster, Mediterranean, Missourian, Mobile |
| Wayne, General Scott, Lafayette, Paul Jones, | Farmer, New Brunswick, Nimrod, Return, Saug- |
| Pocahontas, William Penn. | amon, Transport, Warrior. |
| 1826—America, Columbus, De Witt Clinton, Echo, | 1833—Boone's Lick, Cayuga, Farmer, John Nel- |
| Erie, Florida, Fame, General Coffee, Illinois, | son, Miner, Majestic, Moque, Minerva, O'Con- |
| Jubilee, Liberator, Lady Washington, Messenger, | nell, Ohioan, Privateer, Van Buren. |
| New York. | 1834—Aid, Commerce, Clairborn, Galiman, Hun- |
| 1827—Essex, Maryland, New Pennsylvania, Penn- | tress, Hunter, Ivanhoe, Protector, Potosi, Plough |
| sylvania, Shamrock, Shepards, Wm. D. Duncan. | Boy. |
| 1828—Baltimore, Cumberland, Caroline, Delaware, | 1835—Alert, Algonquin, Arabian, Adventure, Big |
| James O'Hara, Missouri, Neptune, North Amer- | Black, Detroit, Dover, Dayton, Flora, Marion, |
| ica, Powhattan, Phoenix, Palquimine, Red Rover, | Madison, Pawnee, Pioneer, Robert Morris, Ro- |
| Star, Stranger, Talisman. | ver, Siam, Selina, Tempest, Tuskin. |

The year 1836 witnessed a great acceleration in steamboat building on the western waters, and Pittsburgh, the pioneer of the industry, led all other localities, her various builders putting afloat an aggregate of sixty-one, as follows: the Aton, Asia, Amite, Booneville, Bee, Brighton, Bo-

* Thurston's 'Pittsburgh and Allegheny in the Centennial Year.'

guehoma, Baltimore, Columbia, Chamois, C. L. Bass, Camden, Corinthian, Emerald, Eutaw, Florida, General Wayne, Gipsy, Grand Guelph, George A. Bayard, Georgia, Huntsville, Havana, Howard, Harkaway, Kentucky, Kansas, Lilly, Loyal Hanna, London, Louisville, Mobile, Massillon, Nick Biddle, Newark, New Beaver, New Lisbon, Ontario, Oceola, Palmyra, Pavilion, Prairie, Paris, Quincy, Robert Morris, Rienzi, Salem, Sandusky, Savannah, St. Peters, Steubenville Packet, St. Louis, Troy, Tremont, United States, Vandalia, Vermont, Wabash, Warren, William Wirt, William Hurlburt.

In 1837 the number of steamboats owned at Pittsburgh and running regularly between the city and other points, was sixty-three. Nine years later, in 1846, exactly that number were built in twelve months, besides barges, keelboats, etc. From 1852 to 1857 inclusive, a period of six years, there were built here four hundred and forty-six steamers, the number each year with their values being as follows: In 1852, 70, valued at \$1,050,700; in 1853, 78, valued at \$1,560,000; in 1854, 83, valued at \$1,660,000; in 1855, 72, valued at \$1,440,000; in 1856, 59, valued at \$1,180,000; in 1857, 84, valued at \$1,680,000.*

During the period of eighteen years, from 1858 to 1875, there were constructed in the vicinity of Pittsburgh and enrolled in the district six hundred and forty-nine steamboats, their aggregate tonnage being 155,253 tons and value \$21,886,073.† Of these, many of the names are familiar words to the citizens of Pittsburgh and residents of the Ohio valley (who often know a boat by its whistle or even the peculiarity of its "breathing" as it pushes itself through the water), and a list is therefore presented, showing those built each year, as a table for reference by those to whom the matter is of interest:

1858—Venango, Lake Erie No. 3, Sky Lark, Echo, Rowena, Pembinaw, Canada, Dakotah, Ida May, Silver Lake, Victoria, Keokuk, Panola, Cedar Rapids, Jim Watson, C. Rogers, J. L. Cosgrave, Elmira, Diana, Fannie, O. G. Brown, Robt. Watson, Flora Temple, Emma Bett, Eagle, Vulcan, Era No. 3.

1859—Conestoga, Niagara, Sam Clark, Allegheny Belle No. 4, Northerner, John Ray, Des Moines City, J. N. Kellogg, Coloma, Col. Gus Linn, Post Boy, Emma, Jacob Painter, Red Chief No.

2, Leon, Nile, South Bend, Undine, Uncle Ike, Julia Roane, Indianola, Eva No. 4, John C. Calhoun, Mimmerlyn, Pine Bluff, Two Kings, News Boy, Indian No. 2, Andy Fulton, Grey Eagle, Cotton Plant, Laclaire, Lucy Gwin, Lioness, Mingo, Marisanna, Picayune No. 3, T. D. Horner, St. Cloud, Izetta, Collier, Telegraph, Dunbar, Clara Poe, Belle Peoria, Persia, Bellewood, Daniel B. Miller, George Thompson, Southern Flora, Vigo, Lone Star, David Lynch.

* Thurston.

† During the same period there were built 518 barges of a total tonnage of 100,883 tons, and 496 keel- and flatboats, with a tonnage of 21,662 tons; also 26 ferry boats.

- 1860—West Wind, Storm No. 2, Hawkeye State, Mohawk, Sucker State, Porter Rhodes, Sunny Side, Diadem, Science, General Anderson, Arago, Dolphin, Porter, Alfred Robb, Webster, Maquota City, S. C. Baker, Chas. Miller, Alamo, Gallatin, Rose Douglass, Sabine, Frontier City, Wild Cat, Mustang, Arab, May Duke, Gazelle, Jackson, Cricket No. 2, Franklin, Time, Ad Hine, Linden, Talequah, Lilly, Era No. 5, Key West No. 2, Judge Fletcher, Era No. 6, Uchee, Wm. F. Young, Jonas Powell, Cornic, Liberty No. 3, La Salle, Arkansas, Emma Duncan, Matamoras, Commercial, O. H. Ormsby, John F. Carr, Sampson, Dick Fulton No. 2, "W. H. B.," Tycoon, V. F. Wilson, Isaac Hammett, John T. McCombs, Kenton, Sunshine, Robert Fulton, Daniel Bushnell, James Hale, Robert Lee, Westmoreland, Col. Stelle, Citizen.
- 1861—Silver Lake No. 2, Lexington, Continental, Bell Henderson, Florence, Selia, G. W. Graham, Igo, Emma Graham, Billy Hodgeson, Cottage, W. H. Dennis, Eglantine, Warren Packard.
- 1862—Lacon, Monterey, Petrel, Tiber, Estella, Monitor No. 2, Express, Market Boy, Parthenia, Navigation, Silver Lake No. 3, Uncle Sam, New York, R. H. Barnum, Glide, Grampus No. 2, Exchange, Laura Bell, Golden Era, Juliet, Matamora No. 2, St. Clair, Brilliant, Forest Rose, Romeo, New Era, B. C. Levi, Monitor, Tigress No. 2, Volunteer, Silver Cloud, Keywest No. 3, White Rose, Liberty No. 3, Coal Bluff, Ella Faber, Nellie Rogers, Tempest, Starlight, Orient, Cottage No. 2, Advance, Argonaut, Duchess, Emma No. 2, Shark, Whale, Mary E. Forsythe, Eclipse, Dick Fulton.
- 1863—Armada, Armenia, Nevada, Emperor, Argosy, Jennie Rogers, Schuyler, Majestic, Davenport, Lilly Martin, Carrie Jacobs, James R. Gilmore, Fox, Emma, City of Pekin, Sea Gull, Thistle, R. K. Dunkerson, Camelia, Silver Lake No. 4, Oil City, Echo No. 2, Glide, Princess, Mercury, Colossus, Calypso, Geneva, Welcome, Albert Pearce, Norman, Bertha, James Rees, General Grant, Vigilant, Nightengale, Nyanza, Muscatine, America, Prairie State, Keywest No. 4, Savanna, Sylph, Hettie Hartupsee, Arcola, Alice, Olive, Carrie, Tiger, J. F. Stockdale, Leni, Leoto, Captain John Brickell, Charnier, Oil Exchange, General Irwin, Ida Rees, Argosy No. 2, Silver Cloud No. 2, Natrona, Petral No. 2, Bengal Tiger, Tom Rees, Leonidas, Julia, Paragon, Lion, Hawkeye No. 2, Rover, Adelaide, Hunter No. 2, Urilda, Panther, Tom Farrow, Black Hawk, Advance No. 2, Leopard, Star, N. J. Bigley, Darling, Kate Robinson, Wm. Barnhill.
- 1864—Hercules, Joseph Pierce, Warmer, Echo No. 3, Silver Spray, Alpha, Golden Eagle, Damsel, Benton, Brilliant, Little Giant, Little Whale, Hero, Traveler, Argos, Kate Kearney, M. S. Mephan, Ontario, Hyena, Montana, Bayard, Sewickly, Petralia, Cherokee, Louisville, Roanoke, Evening Star, Financier, A. Jacobs, Maggie Hays, Kate B. Porter, Alex. Chambers, Painter No. 2, Venture, Glide No. 3, Petrolia No. 2, Charlie Chever, A. Foster, Columbia, Alice, Kate Putnam, Virginia, Barton, Lotus, Nora, Mist, Guidon, Stella, Hawk, Storm No. 3, Katie, Pilgrim, Wananita, Anna, Onward, Arrow, W. F. Curtis, Gipsey, John S. Hall, Zephyr, Bob Connell, Veteran, Little Alps, Rocket, Little Jim Rees, Allegheny, Centralia, Spray, Iron City, Yorktown, Leclair No. 2, Commonwealth, Jos. Fleming, Coal City, Starlight, Picket, Tamaulipas, Champion, Alex. Speer, Argosy, A. J. Baker, Bee, Laura No. 2, Hard Times, Coal Valley, Albion.
- 1865—Armadillo, W. H. Osborn, Deer Lodge, Fayette, Belle, Lark, Lorena, Dart, Ajax, Parana, Amelia Poe, J. S. Neel, Greenback, Reindeer, Forest City, Mink, Nimrod, Pike, Gleanor, Emma Logan, Dictator, Samuel Rogers, Minnie, Wild Duck, Fearless, Peerless, Imperial, Oil Valley, Julia No. 2, Tidionto, Keystone, C. D. Fry, Neville, Antelope, Sybil, John Hanna, Kangaroo, Mary Davage, Ida Rees No. 2, Wild Boy, Annie Lovell, Messenger, Barnett, Fred Wilson, Grey Eagle.
- 1866—Luella, Glasgow, Rubicon, Winchester, James L. Graham, Importer, Emma No. 3, Ella, N. J. Bigley, Peter Balen, Dan Hine, Tahlequah, Minnesota, Miner, Elkhorn, Nile, Blue Lodge, Greyhound, Chieftain, Pine Bluff, Arabian, Resolute, Elector, Rapidan, R. C. Gray, Lotus No. 2, S. M. Crane, Fair Play, Fort Smith, W. A. Caldwell, Van Buren, Ezra Porter, Belle Vernon, Quickstep, Rochester, Atlanta, Simpson Horner, Sam Brown, Flicker, Mary Ann, Grand Lake, Glendale, Dexter, Jim Brown, Exchange, Baltic.
- 1867—Elizabeth, Ida Stockdale, Elisha Bennett, Diamond, Great Republic, Dubuque, Boaz, Lenton, Success, Active, James Gilmore, Clipper, J. N. McCullough, Rapidan No. 2, Abe Hays, J. F. Dravo, Selma, Mary Alace, Reliable (schooner.)

- 1868—Peninah, Sallie, J. A. Blackmore, Andrew Ackley, Mountain Boy, Park Painter, A. E. Pierpont, J. D. Johnson, Galatea, M. Whitmore, Ft. Gibson, W. M. Stone, Economist.
- 1869—Mollie Ebert, Silver Bow, Carrie V. Kounts, Three Lights, Nick Wall, Colossal, Minneapolis, Flirt, Ironsides, Australia, Mountain Belle, Matamoras No. 2, Lotus No. 3, Jefferson, Baranquilla, Julia A. Randolph, Batesville, Grand Lake No. 2, Chas. H. Duffee, Hornet No. 2, Lioness No. 2, Phoenix, Harry A. Jones, Fred Wilson No. 2, Tom Reed No. 2, Samson No. 2.
- 1870—Carrie V. Kountz, Arlington, City of Evansville, Juniata, Far West, Lake Superior, Red Wing, Trader, Fontenelle, Granite State, R. J. Lockwood, Exchange, Carrie Converge, Tidal Wave, Mollie Moore, N. J. Bigley No. 2, George Roberts, Thirteenth Era, Oil Valley No. 2, Samuel Clarke, Joseph H. Bigley, Brill, John A. Wood, Wm. Cowan, Oceanus, Veteran No. 2, R. J. Grace, Henry C. Yeager, J. Sharp McDonald.
- 1871—May Lowery, John Bigley, Belle of Texas, Glencoe, Tom. Dodsworth, John Gilmore, D. T. Lane, E. H. Duffee, Esperanza, Nellie Peck, Lady Lee, West Virginia, Katie P. Kountz.
- Baton Rouge Belle, Tom. Lysle, James Jackson, Charlie McDonald, Belle Rowland, Geneva, Cora Belle, Park Painter No. 2, Storm, Jos. A. Stone, John Penny, J. S. Mercer, Robert Semple, San Juan, Alice Brown, John F. Tolle, Abe McDonald, Ben. Wood, N. M. Jones, Athletic.
- 1872—John Dippold, George Llyse, Chas. Brown, Evan Williams, Smoky City, L. C. McCormick, Iron Mountain, Exporter, Grand Lake No. 2, Western, Mursillo, Jos. A. Stone, Key West, Little Andy, Fulton, Wm. Wagner, Acorn, Nellie Speer, Oakland, Samuel Miller, Ella Layman, My Choice, Relief, Reliable No. 2 (schooner.)
- 1873—Emma Graham, M. Dougherty, Billy Collins, Josephine, Hiram, Kate Dickson, Elsie, Lillie, Alex. Foster, Madoc, Iron City, J. C. Risher, Maggie Smith, Ark, Belle McGowan, Is. Keefer, Enterprise, B. D. Wood, Lew Morgan, Nellie Walton, Jos. Walton, Shippers' Own, Transit, Bee, Paragon.
- 1874—Hippopotamus, Rainbow, Joseph Warner.
- 1875—Chas. A. Wood, Carrall, Benton, Thomas J. Darragh, Jack Gumbert, Andrew Foster, Wm. S. Holt, Seven Sons, Dauntless, John L. Rhoads, Big Foot, George Baker.

From 1877 to 1884 the number of steamboats constructed here was one hundred and twenty-seven. Of these a list is given by years, with the tonnage of each appended, to convey an idea of the relative of the boats now in use:

1877.	TONNAGE.		TONNAGE.
General Custer, passenger steamer.....	241.34	General Terry, passenger steamer.....	323.15
Black Hills, passenger steamer.....	369.69	Germania, passenger steamer.....	339.06
Coal Bluff No. 2, tow steamer.....	139.14	Nellie Brown, tow steamer.....	56.37
Ida, passenger steamer.....	28.27	General D. H. Rucker, freight steamer.....	477.40
James Laughlin, propeller steamer.....	28.76	Maud Wilmot, tow iron steamer.....	57.17
Big Horn, passenger steamer.....	293.86	F. Y. Batchelor, passenger steamer.....	313.00
Rose Bud, passenger steamer.....	286.49	General C. H. Tompkins, passenger steamer.....	222.39
Hattie Nowland, passenger steamer.....	423.13	Eclipse, passenger steamer.....	259.98
Katie Hooper, passenger steamer.....	442.99	George Matheson, tow steamer.....	105.72
G. W. R. Bayley, dredge steamer.....	462.93	Marlin Speed, passenger steamer.....	334.95
Onward, tow steamer.....	314.89	John P. Thorn, tow steamer.....	120.78
Joseph Nixon, tow steamer.....	307.71	Josie Harry, passenger steamer.....	483.06
Joseph W. Gould, tow steamer.....	134.90	Frank B. Nimick, ferry steamer.....	64.13
Katie Stockdale, passenger steamer.....	479.66	Dick Fulton, tow steamer.....	357.53
W. C. Guffey, tow steamer.....	342.86	Buckeye State, passenger steamer.....	651.47
John Porter, tow steamer.....	420.58	J. B. O'Brien, propeller steamer.....	44.49
	1878.	John D. Scully, passenger steamer.....	536.01
Alice, passenger steamer.....	733.42	Katie Williams, dredge steamer.....	48.01
Alert, tow steamer.....	20.83		

TONNAGE.		TONNAGE.	
J. B. M. Kehlor, freight steamer.....	2,293.78	Comet, tow steamer.....	100.08
Helena, passenger steamer.....	352.31	Keystone, dredge steamer.....	40.42
1879.		Lud Keefer, tow steamer.....	161.68
Montana, passenger steamer.....	959.43	John Gilbert, passenger steamer.....	647.39
Wharton McKnight, tow steamer.....	70.07	W. W. O'Neil, tow steamer.....	778.96
Dacotah, passenger steamer.....	956.98	Sain Brown, tow steamer.....	474.10
Butte, passenger steamer.....	405.51	S. L. Wood, tow steamer.....	514.85
Carrier, passenger steamer.....	815.16	Tide, tow steamer.....	116.22
Mary C. Campbell, No. 10, ferry steamer...	64.73	John Dippel, propeller.....	28.74
Plow Boy, freight steamer.....	185.27	1882.	
James Lee, passenger steamer.....	747.94	Chattahoochee, passenger steamer	436.92
Harry Brown, tow steamer.....	772.15	Raymond Horner, tow steamer.....	688.58
Wyoming, passenger steamer.....	1,034.15	Boaz, tow steamer.....	623.30
1880.		Resolute, tow steamer.....	207.78
Florida, passenger steamer.....	475.71	Daniel Kaine, tow steamer.....	382.36
Iron Age, tow steamer.....	385.91	James G. Blaine, passenger steamer.....	297.83
Eagle, tow steamer.....	185.01	J. M. Howell, passenger steamer.....	107.91
Dean Adams, passenger steamer.....	411.19	John K. Davison, dredge steamer.....	89.20
Short Cut, ferry steamer.....	67.68	Lulu Wood, tow steamer.....	123.32
J. McC. Creighton, tow steamer.....	100.67	Percy Kelsey, tow steamer.....	244.67
H. T. Dexter, passenger steamer.....	449.13	Twilight, passenger steamer.....	119.12
William Kraft, tow steamer.....	105.59	Charlie Clarke, tow steamer.....	147.69
Scotia, passenger steamer.....	601.21	Cora, tow steamer.....	75.18
Stella, tow steamer.....	20.86	Kate Adams, passenger steamer.....	926.93
Alarm, tow steamer.....	189.09	Wm. Stone, tow steamer.....	173.61
W. T. Wheelless, passenger steamer.....	323.29	Will S. Hays, passenger steamer.....	1,436.17
W. R. Jones, ferry steamer.....	45.20	1883.	
Charley Jutte, tow steamer.....	107.11	Clifton, tow steamer.....	185.67
John S. Hopkins, passenger steamer.....	490.12	Patrol, tow steamer.....	121.63
Ida Lee, passenger steamer.....	99.23	Little Ike, dredge steamer.....	98.19
J. N. Bunton, tow steamer.....	139.58	Phoenix, ferry steamer.....	191.69
James O'Connor, propeller steamer.....	49.22	Monterey, tow steamer.....	74.18
Dove, passenger steamer.....	149.87	Alabama, passenger steamer.....	420.06
Harry, passenger steamer.....	48.77	Sentinel, tow steamer.....	35.96
John C. Fisher, tow steamer.....	156.45	Fred Wilson, tow steamer.....	408.98
Pacific, tow steamer.....	212.91	Robert Jenkins, tow steamer.....	174.82
1881.		Chickasaw, passenger steamer.....	568.84
Iron Duke, tow steamer.....	421.25	Joe Peters, passenger steamer.....	426.30
Billy Ezell, tow steamer.....	86.64	Frank Gilmore, tow steamer.....	160.02
Mark Winnett, tow steamer.....	144.45	R. A. Speed, tow steamer.....	140.57
Excel, passenger steamer.....	118.90	Gondola, passenger steamer.....	125.44
Iron Cliff, tow steamer.....	154.57	1884.	
Maggie, tow steamer.....	134.09	Two Brothers, tow steamer.....	48.13
John Lomas, passenger steamer.....	70.00	Venice, passenger steamer.....	31.35
Little Dick, tow steamer.....	126.65	W. P. Bishop, tow steamer.....	48.09
Little Fred, tow steamer.....	126.88	Creighton, dredge steamer.....	87.63
Mike Dougherty, propeller.....	43.76	Slackwater, tow steamer.....	140.42
Jim Brown, tow steamer.....	153.40	Geo. F. Dana, tow steamer.....	285.25
Rescue, tow steamer.....	135.40		

In considering Pittsburgh's connection with the navigation of the Ohio

and other western waters, there are several items of general interest that should not be lost sight of, among them the fact that her boats have been frequently the pioneers in various departments of navigation, or in certain regions, as the New Orleans was the pioneer in the entire western system of steamboating. The Independence was the first to ascend the Missouri; the Western Engineer the first to reach Council Bluffs, six hundred and fifty miles above St. Louis; the American the first to make a trip up the Monongahela, in 1825, and the Enterprise the first to ascend the Red river and make the return trip from New Orleans up the Ohio to Louisville, as heretofore mentioned.

The first iron steamboat that navigated the western rivers was also built at Pittsburgh. This was the Valley Forge constructed in 1838-39, at the Washington iron works, by William C. Robinson, Benjamin Minis and Reuben Miller, Jr. The Valley Forge was 180 feet long, her breadth of beam 29 feet, deck width 49½ feet, and depth of hold 5½ feet. Her capacity was about 400 tons, and she cost complete \$60,000. She went to New Orleans in the summer of 1839 and afterwards to St. Louis and Nashville, and as far as Rome, Georgia, up the Cumberland river. Her last trip was in July, 1845, from Pittsburgh to McKeesport with a large picnic party, and soon after that, being unable to successfully compete with boats of later and improved pattern, she was dismantled and sold piece-meal to iron manufacturers.

Since then quite a number of iron boats have been built here, of which no less than nine were war vessels. The earliest after the Valley Forge were of this description and were constructed in 1845 at the celebrated Fort Pitt iron works, mentioned in a former article of this series. They were the Jefferson and George M. Bibb—the latter named in honor of the then secretary of war. These vessels were each 210 feet long, 21 feet beam, and 17 feet depth of hold. The Jefferson, which cost \$180,000 was taken apart after she had been constructed, and transported to Oswego, where she was committed to the waves, and the Bibb launched at Pittsburgh went down the rivers to the gulf. She cost a quarter of a million dollars. Both vessels are still in use. Two others were built about the same time. The iron revenue cutter, Sherman, well known upon the lakes was built here, being set up complete on a vacant lot, then taken apart and conveyed to the lakes, where she was again put together and launched. The turret ships or monitors Manayunk and Umpqua, each 225 long, were constructed at Pittsburgh in 1863, and went to sea by

way of the Ohio and Mississippi. In the first named over 1,247 tons of iron were used and in the latter 813. The Marietta and the Sandusky were also built for the government during the war, and several additional iron steamers have been furnished by this "smith of the land and sea," which were designed for commerce rather than war.

In 1878 the enterprise and versatility involved in boat building was further exhibited in the construction of the first steel vessel, which was shipped to Baranquilla, South America. Since then the building of such craft has grown to be quite an important industry, and recently a large trade has sprung up in the exportation of steel boats to Russia. Thus Pittsburgh, not content with leading in the navigation of the western rivers and of contributing more boats to their fleets than any other one locality, has sent vessels from her yards and shops into some of the farthest waters of the world.

Pittsburgh builders and boatmen have, however, naturally made their greatest achievements in the navigation of the Ohio and the streams with which communication can be had by it. This city has for more than three-quarters of a century taken the lead in the business of the river and in the advancement of the whole system of inland navigation. The progress of the last half century has been wonderful. Fifty years ago the ordinary river boat was about 150 feet long, 18 feet beam and about six feet depth of hold, built very strongly. When light, such a boat would draw from three and a half to four feet of water, and when loaded six feet. In contrast to this the ordinary boat of the present day is from 200 to 235 feet long, about 36 feet beam, and six feet deep, and draws only about 20 inches light, and no more than the old time and smaller one when loaded. It will carry from six to eight hundred tons, and its speed is much greater than that of its predecessor, with far less steam in proportion to size and load.

The greatest advantage gained in the freight business, however, one exceeding all others combined, arose from the introduction and development of the unique system of "towing," which really is not towing at all, but pushing. This was entirely unknown in 1830. The whole load was then carried on the boat, while now, by flats or barges securely lashed together and pushed ahead of the steamer, it is an every day occurrence for one steamer to take down the Ohio three or four hundred thousand bushels of coal, and at least once a tow of 22,800 tons or 600,000 bushels of black diamonds has been propelled down the river—a shipment by

a single steamer never elsewhere equalled, and larger than the "Great Eastern" could handle. The transportation rate of this great tonnage from Pittsburgh to New Orleans, a distance of two thousand miles, is four cents per bushel, or one-twentieth of one cent per ton per mile—a freight rate lower than is possible by any other carrying system in the world. The towing system saved the river trade from the almost total extinction with which it was threatened by railroad construction, and proved a potent factor in securing to Pittsburgh her supremacy as the gateway of the west. Hundreds of millions of tons of coal, iron and general merchandise have been sent by the towing system to points throughout the Ohio and Mississippi valleys. Over twenty thousand miles of inland navigation is open to Pittsburgh, and the day may yet come when the number of miles will be doubled by entirely feasible improvements of the lesser streams. Pittsburgh steamers now go to one port four thousand three hundred miles distant—Cow island, on the upper Missouri—as far away as Mediterranean or Baltic ports are from New York.

Of coal and coke alone it is safe to say that at least 75,000,000 bushels, or over 2,800,000 tons, are annually shipped by river from Pittsburgh, while the shipments of pig iron, steel rails and general manufactures is not less than 100,000 tons, and of merchandise almost as much per year. It is estimated that 100,000 passengers arrive and depart by river annually, and the traffic exhibits encouraging signs of appreciation. A summary of the boating interests of Pittsburgh* shows that in 1884 there were owned and belonging to the port 163 steam passenger- and tow-boats, with a capacity of 32,914 tons; 60 model barges, with a capacity of 24,600 tons; 2,000 barges, 1,200 boats and 900 flats (the latter used for towing and seldom making more than one trip) together having a capacity of 1,648,000 tons, making a total of 4,323 vessels, with a tonnage of 1,705,514 tons; that the capital invested in them was nearly \$10,000,000; the men employed numbered 3,500, and the value of the work done was \$2,600,000.

These are large figures, but it must be borne in mind that Pittsburgh is as indisputably at the head of Ohio river towns commercially as she is geographically, and that the commerce of the Ohio is a vast interest. The extent of the river commerce is not appreciated even by those who live by the banks of the mighty current, nor can it be exactly stated from recent statistics, but a detailed special report made to the government in

* Made by G. Follansbee, Esq., superintendent of Chamber of Commerce, in report for 1884.

1874, by a most competent authority,* placed the total of the river trade of all the cities, towns and landings along the thousand miles between Pittsburgh and its mouth at over \$800,000,000, or, in other words, it equaled the total foreign commerce of the United States at that period.

ALFRED MATHEWS.

THE BANKS AND BANKERS OF CLEVELAND.

In the rooms of the Cleveland Historical Society can be found four record books of medium size, bound in a heavy brown leather, with pages discolored here and there by time and wear, but with each entry so legible that it seems to have been made but yesterday. These are veritable relics, and open to this generation an almost unknown chapter in the commercial history of Cleveland. On the fly-leaf of the largest, the story of the four is told as follows:

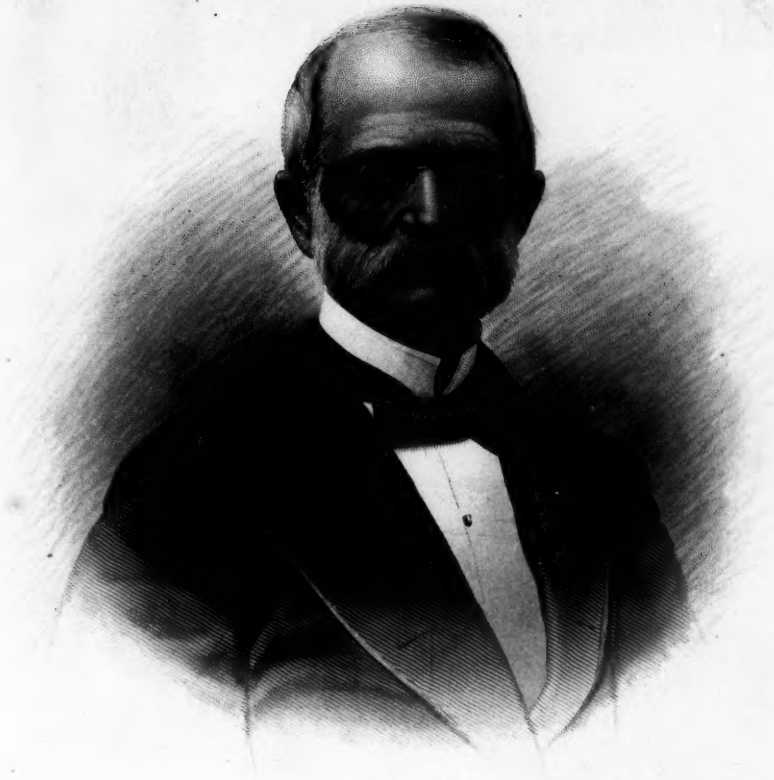
This ledger, with the two journals and letter-book, are the first books used for banking in Cleveland. They were made by Peter Burtissell, in New York, for the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie, which commenced business in August, 1816—Alfred Kelley, president, and Leonard Case, cashier. The bank failed in 1820. On the second day of April, 1832, it was reorganized and resumed business after paying off its existing liabilities, consisting of less than ten thousand dollars due the treasurer of the United States. Leonard Case was chosen president and Truman P. Handy cashier. The following gentlemen constituted its directory: Leonard Case, Samuel Williamson, Edward Clark, Peter M. Weddell, Herman Oviatt, Charles M. Giddings, John Blair, Alfred Kelley, David King, James Duncan, Roswell Kent, T. P. Handy, John W. Allen. Its charter expired in 1842. The legislature of Ohio refusing to extend the charters of existing banks, its affairs were placed by the courts in the hands of T. P. Handy, Henry B. Payne and Dudley Baldwin, as special commissioners, who proceeded to pay off its liabilities and wind up its affairs. They paid over to its stockholders the balance of its assets in lands and money in June, 1844. T. P. Handy was then appointed trustee of the stockholders, who, under their orders, distributed to them the remaining assets in June, 1845. Its capital was five hundred thousand dollars.

The books were, prior to 1832, kept by Leonard Case, cashier.

[Presented to the Historical Society of Cleveland by T. P. Handy, January, 1877.]

In one of the three minor books referred to by Mr. Handy, the following names are signed to the articles of incorporation, under date of August 6, 1816: John H. Strong, Samuel Williamson, Philo Taylor, George Wallace, David Long, Erastus Miles, Seth Doan, Alfred Kelley. Not one of this latter list now remains on earth. Of those in the directory named by Mr. Handy in the above, only two survive—Mr. Handy and Mr. John W. Allen.

* The late Colonel Milnor W. Roberts.



Western Diesel Pub Co

Very truly
Yours
J. H. Hendy

When this Commercial Bank of Lake Erie made its appearance among the organized ventures of our new but growing state, Cleveland was itself a municipal experiment, having been but one year under its village charter. Everything was of pioneer newness. The first brick house was but two years old. The first court of record had held its sittings only six years before. The first church society had not yet been organized, and the first weekly newspaper did not make its appearance until two years later. Not until 1818 was the first steamboat seen entering the harbor of Cleveland. Not even a log hut had made its appearance on the western banks of the Cuyahoga river; and it was not until 1828 that the earliest court house was built on the public square and Cleveland began to feel that she had an anchorage among the new towns of the new west, and could hold a rational hope for life and prosperity in the future.

It took some nerve and some money in the days when money was scarce to open a banking house, but the men who gave themselves to the venture lacked nothing in courage, in financial skill, or in a desire to supply the business men of the struggling village with such facilities of commercial exchange as was possible. Yet, with all their courage and skill, the experiment was against them, and after four years of precarious life the bank was compelled to suspend. In twelve years it again opened its doors, and to the credit of Cleveland's financial fathers be it said that, as a preliminary to this step, the liabilities of the past were honorably met and discharged, and the new bank commenced life with a record on which there lay no blame.

The record of this pioneer institution, thus briefly touched upon, opens an interesting field which yields much information bearing on the financial and commercial life and growth of Cleveland. The wealth, stability and influence of the banks that live to-day measure the wealth and influence of the city. The wreckages of the past indicate the danger points of that past; and the lives of the founders and fathers of these great corporations are in themselves the best histories and the most honored possessions of the institutions they founded, not only in genius and faithful care, but in high-minded honesty and unshaken courage as well.

Among those whose names must always be mentioned with high honor when account is taken of the bank record of Cleveland, is the late George Mygatt, who, only a few months ago, passed to his reward after a life filled with industry, public usefulness and Christian deeds. He made his advent into the financial circles of Cleveland in 1846, when he accepted

the presidency of the City Bank of Cleveland, now known as the National City bank. Mr. Mygatt gave thirty of the best working years of his life to the banking business, and was looked upon by all whose opinion in financial matters was highly valued, as eminently fitted by natural gifts, by tenacity of purpose, a far-seeing intelligence, an honesty of character that could not be shaken, and a perfect purity of life, for the successful prosecution of a business in which but few men can command eminent success. His name was ever a source of strength to any institution with which he was connected, and the public felt a confidence in his sagacity and honesty, no matter how great trouble might befall the financial circles of the land.

Mr. Mygatt was born in Danbury, Connecticut, on June 14, 1797, and was brought by his parents to Ohio when only ten years of age. His father opened a store in Canfield, Mahoning county, and the son was there employed until his twentieth year, when he became a clerk in the staunch old Western Reserve Bank of Warren. From 1820 to 1834 he engaged in other occupations, but on being offered the position of cashier in the Bank of Norwalk he accepted. In 1836 he became cashier of the Bank of Geauga in Painesville, remaining there for ten years, when he came to the City Bank of Cleveland, which had been formed the previous year. In 1850 he formed the private banking house of Mygatt & Brown, his partner being Mr. Fayette Brown. This house was in existence seven years. In 1857 the Merchants' bank, with which Mr. Handy was not yet associated, became involved by the failure of the Ohio Life and Trust Company of Cincinnati. Mr. Mygatt, who had recently become cashier, was looked to as one of the means by which its safety could be assured, and the creditors found that their trust had not been misplaced. It was the year in which a great financial panic had fallen upon the land, and only such institutions as were stable because deeply rooted in the confidence of the people could stand at all. The Merchants' met the storm with courage and skill, and although a large part of its stock was sunk, it redeemed its notes and kept faith with the people. In 1861, having secured more than an ample competence, and desiring to lighten his burdens, Mr. Mygatt gave up active business, although making a partial use of his time by acting as secretary of the Cleveland & Mahoning railroad company—quite a nominal position since the leasing of the line to another corporation.

Mr. Mygatt always stood high in the confidence of the general public

and of those with whom he was in business relations. He was broad in view and benevolent in deed. He carried his Christianity into every-day life, and a venture in business must first have approved itself to his conscience to be touched at all. Industry and straightforward integrity were the strongholds of his character. Public issues always received due attention, and while representing Cuyahoga county in the state legislature his voice and vote were conscientiously given or withheld. He was for years identified with the Industrial school of Cleveland and with other benevolent institutions. But, however engaged in business, it is safe to say that no interest lay so near his heart as the welfare of the Church of Christ. As an office-bearer therein for many years and a member throughout his adult life, his relation to the church was characterized by positive convictions, profound humility, the utmost fidelity to every trust and an open-handed beneficence. To the poor he was very considerate. He lived to a rare old age, honored and respected by all who knew him. He died, April 12, 1885. His benevolent life still abides in this community in noble bequests to the First Presbyterian church, in which he was an elder, the Cleveland City and the Huron Street hospitals and the Industrial school.

Conceding all that may be claimed for Cleveland's other financiers in early days, the fact remains that in the young man who came from the east on the reopening of the old Commercial Bank of Lake Erie in 1832, taking the responsible position of cashier, there was brought to the enterprise a rare knowledge of business, a clear head, an active brain, great financial talent, and an honesty of character and cleanliness of life that can acknowledge no superior. In Truman P. Handy, who still lives in high honor and usefulness among men, one of the truest friends of the young city came to aid in her upbuilding at a time when she needed help. No record of the banks or bankers of Cleveland, however limited its bounds, could be complete without giving full credit and acknowledgment to him.

Mr. Handy was born in Paris, Oneida county, New York, on January 17, 1807. He was given a thorough common school education, and while his mind was under cultivation his muscles were developing themselves by the severe labors of the farm. When eighteen years of age he decided upon a commercial career, and after spending several years in the employ of mercantile firms he entered the Bank of Geneva, in Ontario county, in 1826. After five years of usefulness there he removed to Buffalo and be-

came teller in the newly established Bank of Buffalo. In 1832 he was married, and in company with his young bride set out to try his fortune in the then far away wilderness of Ohio. It was a great deal further away then than it is now, as six days of wearisome stage-coaching lay between Geneva and Cleveland. In one sense the move was not a venture, as Mr. Handy came under an agreement to accept the position of cashier in the revived bank. His banking life in Cleveland was commenced on the very spot where it will probably find its end; in some, to be hoped, far distant day—on the corner of Superior and Bank streets, where the Mercantile National Bank, of which he is president, now stands.

The history of a prosperous bank can be compressed into a few words—in fact it cannot be brought to any degree of elaboration. Working with effect it works quietly, and no matter what power it may possess or what influence it may exercise, there are few sensational points in its career upon which to fix the attention. The extract given above in Mr. Handy's own words furnishes the history of the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie. It made money and kept its credit, and its dissolution was brought about by causes outside of itself. While engaged in settling up its affairs, Mr. Handy carried on a private banking business under the name of T. P. Handy & Co.

In 1845, when the state legislature passed a law authorizing the establishment of the State Bank of Ohio and of independent banks, Mr. Handy organized a new enterprise under the name of the Commercial Branch of the State Bank of Ohio, now known as the Commercial National Bank. William A. Otis was made president, Mr. Handy, cashier, and its capital stock was fixed at one hundred and seventy-five thousand dollars. Of the success of this new venture, a biographer of Mr. Handy says:

He was the acting manager of the institution, and so successful was his conduct of its affairs that the stockholders received an average of nearly twenty per cent. on their investment through nearly the whole time until the termination of its charter in 1865, a period of twenty years. His policy was liberal, but with remarkable judgment he avoided hazardous risks, and whilst the bank always had as much business as it could possibly accommodate, the tightest times never affected its credit.

In 1861 Mr. Handy was elected president of the Merchants' Branch of the State Bank of Ohio, and gave it such impetus by his ability, industry and high financial standing that from an uncertain property it became one of the best paying institutions in the city. From that day to this his location has been fixed. He held the presidency after its transformation into a national bank, and even now, when crowned with the honors of a long life and fully aware that in younger hands he can safely leave the



H. B. Ludlow

trusts so long ago committed to his care, he still makes it his headquarters daily and keeps himself fully informed as to all that is being done.

It is hardly pertinent to this subject to name the other enterprises in which he has had a part. They are many and have all been followed by success. He has amassed a large fortune, but those who know the story of his life need not be told that the getting of money has not been the one purpose for which he lived. No charity can be named in the wide range of Cleveland benevolence that has not been given proof of his generosity. All good works have felt his helping hand. A member of the Second Presbyterian church and for forty-one years one of its elders, he has made himself felt in religious circles and has always been a devoted and hard-working friend of the Sunday-school. The Children's Industrial home and Homeopathic hospital have been especial objects of his solicitude, and his bank-book has more than once been their refuge in times of need. As a banker and a man of business, he is known to his associates and the public as easy of approach, of agreeable presence and patient attention; yet he has the power to say "no" to that which his judgment or conscience cannot accept. His character seems to have had a fine moral and mental foundation upon which to build, and all his developments have been in an upward direction. Those who know him best will best know that these words are far from fulsome praise, but rather lack in full justice to a noble, high-minded and useful man.

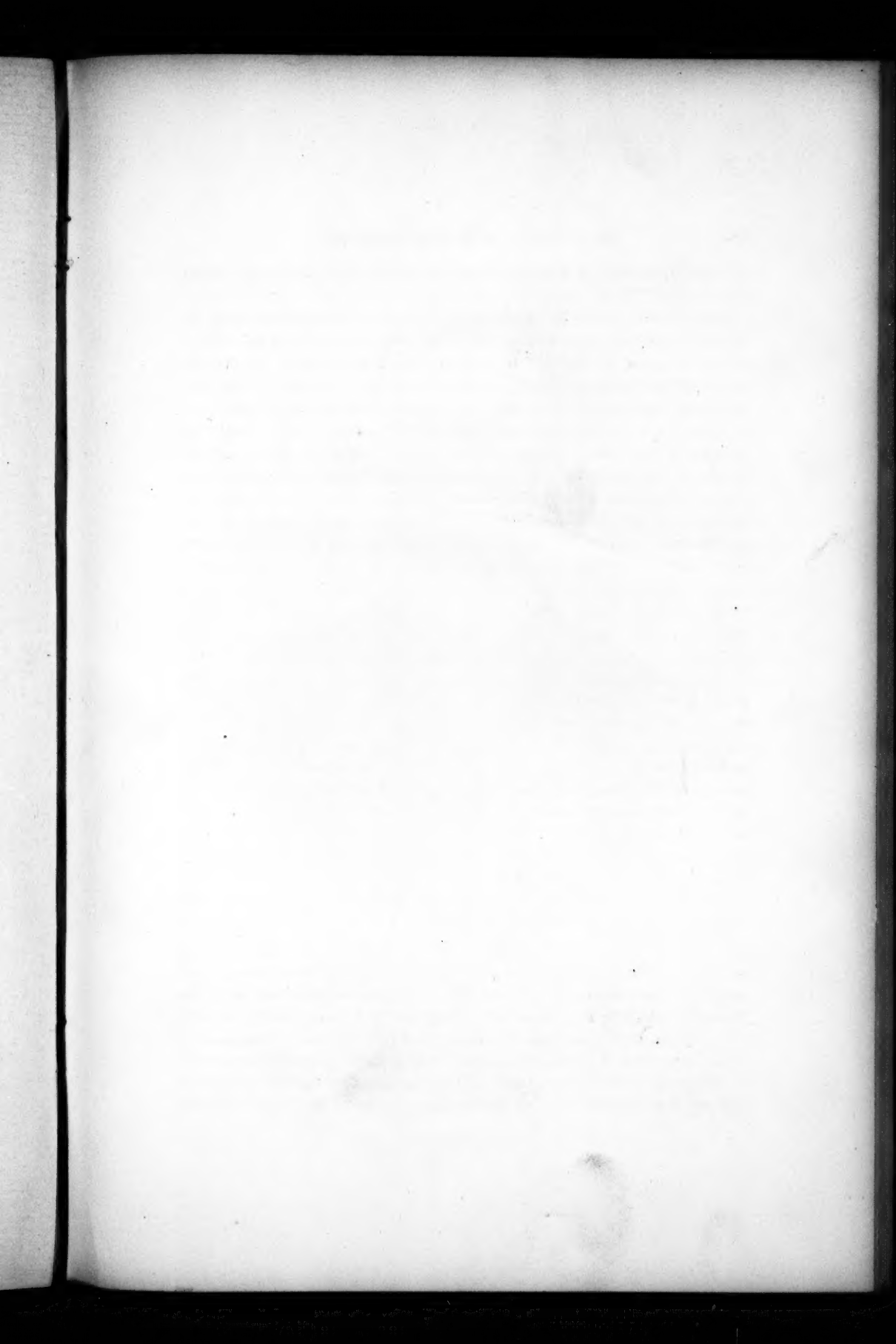
Hinman B. Hurlbut achieved success as a lawyer before entering the banking business, and as a railroad man after leaving it; but he was identified sufficiently long with it to admit him to the list under consideration here. He was of New York extraction, and was born in St. Lawrence county in 1818. In 1836 he came to Cleveland and entered the law office of his brother, H. A. Hurlbut. Three years later he was admitted to practice, and removed to Massillon, Stark county. I have seen a record of his financial condition in those days, and make bold to borrow the following extract:

His cash capital, when he started for his prospective field of labor, consisted of three dollars and twenty-five cents. The disbursement of this sum was as follows: three dollars for his packet fare to Massillon; twenty-five cents for three sheets of paper and two packages of tobacco. His worldly goods were all contained in a hair trunk, the most valuable item of which was his law library, consisting of two volumes, Blackstone, and 'Kent's Commentaries.' We may well be assured that Mr. Hurlbut was dreadfully in earnest about that time to commence business. He soon succeeded in making a commencement; his talent and industry were rewarded by one of the largest and most lucrative practices in that section, extending through Wayne, Holmes, Tuscarawas, Carroll, Columbiana and Summit coun-

ties. He continued the practice of his profession until 1850, four years of which time he was the partner of Hon. D. K. Cartter.

During his residence in Massillon, Mr. Hurlbut became somewhat interested in banking, and finding it suited to his bent of mind and congenial to his tastes, determined to venture into it as a career. In 1850 he organized the Merchants' Bank of Massillon, with a capital of \$100,000. Two years later, while still holding his interest in the Massillon enterprise, he came back to Cleveland and opened the private banking house of Hurlbut & Co. In 1853, in connection with others, he purchased the charter of the Bank of Commerce—afterwards the Second National and now the National Bank of Commerce—and assumed the position of cashier. He remained identified with it and was one of the factors in its great success until 1866, when ill health, resulting from severe labor, compelled him to resign. He was succeeded by J. C. Buell, whose misuse of the bank funds and subsequent suicide is the darkest and saddest spot on the banking record of Cleveland. Mr. Hurlbut was made vice-president of the bank, and held that position for a number of years. He gave two years to a tour of Europe, and returned in much better health, but under a warning that continued labor and excessive mental application might at any hour undo all that the vacation had done for him. But he was one of the men who cannot remain idle. In addition to his other interests he soon added that of railroad property, and it was as a railroad man that for the last dozen years of his life he was best known. A fair portion of his fortune was the result of shrewd and lucky railroad investments. "He would venture," said one of his railroad associates, in conversation with the writer, "where other men would see small chance of safety, and come out the winner. He always seemed to know which side to be on, and how to get on that side."

The warnings given by nature were little heeded, as he seemed to feel that the reservoir of strength on which he had so remorselessly drawn for many years was inexhaustible. The inevitable result came, and on March 22, 1884, a complication of pneumonic and heart troubles suddenly called him from the busy scenes of life. The predominant feature of his character, as outlined by those who knew him best, was a restless activity and an ardor for the making of money—not for the sake of the money itself, as he spent it liberally and gave of it without stint—but apparently for the excitement of the pursuit and the pleasure of having achieved a victory over circumstances. After reaching a point of life where his tastes





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could be gratified, he paid great attention to the fine arts, and made a collection of costly pictures, which has been set aside as the nucleus of an art gallery which a part of his wealth is to sustain. He gave liberally to any public or private cause that touched his sympathy or enlisted his interest. He established the Hurlbut professorship of natural science at Western Reserve college. He was the chief founder and sustainer of the Cleveland city hospital, and when he died it was discovered that his fortune, which will realize over half a million dollars, is eventually to be divided between the hospital and the gallery of art.

Although Dan P. Eells has achieved distinction and amassed great wealth in railroads and other lines of financial enterprise, he is by education and profession a banker, and all his business life has been spent in that connection. He was born in Westmoreland, Oneida county, New York, on April 16, 1825. He received a thorough education in Hamilton college, graduating in 1848. A year later, following the natural bent of his genius, and recognizing the field in which it could have full play, he entered the employ of the Commercial branch of the State Bank of Ohio of Cleveland, now existing under the name of the Commercial National bank. He pursued the steady tenor of his way, mastering the details of the business, and studying out the theories underlying it, and at the same time working his way upward step by step. In 1857, in obedience to the advice of the many business friends he had made, he resigned his position and assisted in the formation of a private banking house under the name of Hall, Eells & Co., the senior partner being T. K. Hall of Mahoning county, who subsequently moved to Warren, where he recently died. The managers of the Commercial soon discovered the extent of their loss, and in 1858 Mr. Eells was persuaded to again join his fortune to theirs, being elected cashier. On the transformation of the institution into a national bank in 1865, Mr. Eells was made vice-president, Mr. W. A. Otis being president. On the death of the latter, in 1868, Mr. Eells was elected to his place, where he still is. What Mr. Eells is as a banker is told fully in the success of the institution he has done so much to build up. Its policy has been liberal, wise and cautious, and the qualities Mr. Eells has shown there have also been displayed in other fields of financial enterprise where he has achieved a like distinction and won a like success. By careful and often brilliant operations, he has in the past few years amassed a large fortune—a fortune he knows how to properly use, and which he seems to regard, in a large degree, as a stewardship for which he is at last

to give an account. His public and private life are alike without a flaw. Universal testimony is borne on this point by those who have lived the closest to him, and seen him under the sharp and merciless exposure of an every-day business life. He has long been an elder in the Second Presbyterian church, and one of its most generous supporters. He is benevolent in a marked degree, and has given his services and money to the support of the Cleveland Protestant orphan asylum, the Bethel home, the Cleveland Bible society, and other forms of public benevolence. What he does for charity in the private walks of life cannot be stated here, as the left hand does not know what has been done by the right, but faith in his character and knowledge of his course in other things suggest that no duty of this kind is left undone. One of his chief pleasures is to aid struggling young men on the upward road of life. When, by a terrible accident, a child who was very dear to his heart was taken suddenly out of the brightness of her young life, he built in her memory a beautiful chapel of public worship and gave it the baby name which she had bestowed upon herself. In social life Mr. Eells is easy of approach, and ready to estimate all men by what they are and not by what they possess. In his mental make-up he has the faculty of seeing to the end of an investment before entering upon it, but when once committed to it he has the courage and New England grit to see it to the end. He was a member of the Seney syndicate that built the Nickle Plate road, and is said to have made a million dollars in the deal. He is, in all truth, a worthy, public-spirited citizen, and has been one of the most useful men in the community in which he has cast his lot.

Joseph Perkins has, by personal counsel and the ready risk of his capital, become thoroughly identified with the banking interests of Cleveland. He was born on July 5, 1819, in Warren, Trumbull county, Ohio, where his father, General Simon Perkins, will always live in local memory as one of Ohio's pioneers. The son was given a good education and afterwards entered his father's office, where he was trained in business habits and given a foundation for his success in after years. On the death of his father, the chief care of a large estate fell on his shoulders and required much of his attention. He soon removed to Cleveland, where many of his interests were located and where he soon became a living part in many railroad, bank and other organizations. In 1853 he was made president of the Bank of Commerce, of which H. B. Hurlbut had recently been chosen cashier. From that day to this Mr. Perkins has been a close friend



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of that organization, and has during many years held the position of president, but has always declined it when some one could be found who might give the bank more close attention and care than was possible with him. In 1873 he was compelled to resign because of ill health and Amasa Stone was elected to the position. On the resignation of Mr. Stone, Mr. Perkins urged the election of Hiram Garretson. On the death of the latter, Mr. Perkins again accepted the trust until some one could be found, and gave way to S. T. Everett in 1877. On the resignation of Mr. Everett, Mr. Perkins was once more prevailed on, and he is still the president of the National Bank of Commerce, which is the successor of the organization named above. He gives it such time and counsel as is needed, although not endeavoring to devote to it any large portion of his time or labor. Mr. Perkins is vice-president of the Society for Savings and has held valuable interests in banks at Toledo, Warren and elsewhere. He was director of the Western Reserve Bank of Warren from 1845 to 1852, and was also for some years a director in the bank of Geauga at Painesville.

As a business man Mr. Perkins is conservative, sagacious, patient in waiting for expected results, and, above all, honest and high-minded to a wonderful degree. He knows nothing of that trickery by which some men thrive. His conscience is his guide, and he is one of the few of whom much good can be said with little fear of flattery. Wealth came to him by inheritance, but he has made a noble use of it. I need mention no details in proof of this assertion. It is known to all the charities of Cleveland; it is known with grateful thanks by the weary workers in fields of benevolence and reform, who have felt his encouragement and found the succor of his purse in times when all other help seemed gone; it is known to hundreds of men and women who have been blessed out of his abundance. The church, the temperance cause, the care of homeless children, the reform of the fallen, the education of the masses—these are all very near to his heart. To tell all that he has done for others would fill more than one of these pages. His life has been as blameless as that of Sir Galahad and as full of deeds of noble courtesy. It is a pleasure to write such words of any man in the full confidence of their truth, and the honor in which Joseph Perkins is held by the people of Cleveland to-day has been so richly earned that even the most captious cannot refuse to accord it to him as a matter of simple right.

There are a half score or more of the financial Samsons of Cleveland,

past and present, who should receive extended mention in an article of this character would space permit. Many of them, although interested through services or money in the banking business, have given the largest part of their lives or the most earnest portion of their labors to other forms of commercial activity, and in historical consideration deserve treatment under titles other than that employed above. Amasa Stone, for example, was, in the course of his active career, director in the Merchants' bank, the Bank of Commerce and the Cleveland Banking company. He was president of the Second National bank, and also for some years the president of the Toledo branch of the State Bank of Ohio, which he and Joseph Perkins and H. B. Hurlbut controlled. Yet the great work of his life was in the building and managing of railroads, where his permanent record of usefulness was made. . Almost the same thing can be said of the late Stillman Witt, who was a railroad man all his life, but held a connection with the directories of the Second and Commercial banks of Cleveland, the Cleveland Banking Company and the Bank of Toledo. Mr. J. H. Wade, whose fame belongs to the railroads and to the history of the telegraph, is officially connected with the banking system of Cleveland, being one of the founders of the Citizens' Savings and Loan Association, and having been its president from the start. Other examples are found in the records of Henry B. Payne, John W. Allen, Sherlock J. Andrews, Fayette Brown, Charles A. Otis, P. M. Weddell, George Worthington, W. P. Southworth, James Pannell, William A. Otis, Leonard Case, Sr., John McClymonds, Hiram Garretson, Oscar Townsend, Selah Chamberlin and Samuel Williamson, who, after a long and brilliant legal career, gave ten of the best and ripest years of his life to the Cleveland Society for Savings. I fear that in this rapid review of a large field there are names not here that should be included, and my only excuse lies in the fact that this is a sketch and does not attempt the character of a complete history. There are also many workers in the banks of to-day, the full record of whose work will be covered by the historian and biographer of the future—such men as S. H. Mather, E. R. Perkins, Henry S. Whittlesey, Joseph Colwell, S. T. Everett, W. S. Jones, P. M. Spencer, H. C. Ellis, George A. Garretson, John F. White-law, W. H. Barris, Henry Wick and E. B. Hale.

A CHRONOLOGICAL RECORD.

The banking institutions that are holding their own to-day have met

their share of fortune and loss, and have gone through those changes and transformations incidental even to structures built on cash and dedicated to its uses. Below is a brief summary of the history of each, as near as a rather extensive and patient search could lay the facts bare:

The City Bank of Cleveland had its origin in an organization called the Fireman's Insurance company, which had been given the power to do a banking business but not to issue notes. The City Bank was incorporated May 17, 1845, its charter to run twenty years. Reuben Sheldon was elected president and T. C. Severance cashier. On the twelfth of February, 1865, it closed its business and opened on the day following as the National City Bank of Cleveland. On January 20, 1885, its charter was renewed for twenty years.

The Merchants' Branch Bank of the State Bank of Ohio was organized June 25, 1845, with a twenty years' charter. P. M. Weddell was chosen president and Prentis Dow cashier. Its successor was the Merchants' National Bank, which was formed on December 27, 1864, but did not commence business until February 7, 1865, when the Merchants' Branch Bank ceased operations. T. P. Handy and W. L. Cutter were reelected to their respective positions of president and cashier. In that year the bank was made, and still remains, the United States depository for the receipt of public moneys. The charter of the Merchants' National expired on December 27, 1884. Its successor, the Mercantile National bank, was organized December 10, 1884, and commenced business December 29, 1884. The Mercantile recently completed and now occupies an elegant new building on "the old corner," where Mr. Handy and the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie joined their fortunes in 1832. The old building, which was torn down to give place to the new, was erected in 1851.

The Commercial Branch of the State Bank of Ohio was organized in September, 1845, with the usual twenty year charter. William A. Otis was made president and T. P. Handy cashier. It opened its doors for business November 25 of the same year, in a block on Superior street near its present location. The Branch bank was wound up March 1, 1865, on the expiration of its charter, and the Commercial National bank, which had been organized December 1, 1864, in preparation for this event, assumed the business on the same day. Its charter was renewed in 1884, and the bank was continued with no change of management or of stockholders. In 1869 the Commercial moved into its present quarters in the

National Bank building, which had been jointly erected by it and the Second National bank, on the corner of Superior and Water streets.

The charter of the Society for Savings was issued on April 4, 1849, and on August 2 of the same year the new institution was opened for business. John W. Allen was made president, S. H. Mather secretary, and J. F. Taintor treasurer. In a short time Mr. Taintor withdrew, and the two offices were combined in Mr. Mather. The institution has been wonderfully prosperous, and something of its origin and record will be found under another heading in this article.

The charter of the Bank of Commerce was issued in 1844 or 1845, but no bank was established. In 1853 it was purchased by H. B. Hurlbut and the bank set in operation. Parker Handy was chosen president, and Mr. Hurlbut made cashier. In a short time Mr. Handy resigned and Joseph Perkins was elected in his place. In May, 1863, it was changed into a national bank, and took the title of the Second National bank, the law then requiring the use of numbers instead of names. Mr. Perkins and Mr. Hurlbut were continued in their respective positions of president and cashier. On the renewal of its charter in 1882 the old name was re-adopted, and it commenced business as the National Bank of Commerce.

In 1851 was formed the private banking house of Wicks, Otis & Brownell. The partners were H. B. and H. Wick, W. A. and W. F. Otis, and A. C. Brownell. In 1854 the Wicks purchased the interests of their partners, and the name of the firm was changed to H. B. and H. Wick. In 1857 Mr. Henry Wick bought out his brother, and having taken his son into partnership, the bank has since been known as Henry Wick & Co.

In 1852 E. B. Hale opened a private bank. In 1866 he formed a partnership by the admission of W. H. Barris to the firm, and it has since been known as E. B. Hale & Co.

The private banking house of Brockway, Wason, Everett & Co. commenced business in March, 1854. The partners were A. W. Brockway, Charles Wason and Dr. A. Everett. It soon changed to Wason, Everett & Co. on the retirement of the senior partner; and when Mr. Charles Wason disposed of his interest and Mr. H. P. Weddell was admitted, the firm name became Everett, Weddell & Co. The stormy times that befell it and its final closing up in July, 1884, are of too recent a date to require mention here.

The First National bank was organized May 23, 1863, being one of the first half-dozen that came into life under the national bank law. The new

bank was not altogether without a foundation of business in the start, as that of the private banking house of S. W. Crittenden & Co. was turned into it. George Worthington was the first president, and S. W. Crittenden cashier. The charter expired in June, 1882, and the bank continued under a reorganization which had occurred on May 13, 1882.

The Citizens' Savings and Loan association was opened for business August 1, 1868, with J. H. Wade as president. It was incorporated on the sixteenth of May in that year, under an act of the legislature "to enable associations of persons to raise funds to be used among their members for building homesteads, and for other purposes, to become a body corporate." The presidency has been held by Mr. Wade from the first to the present, and up to his recent departure for Europe he gave the business his daily attention. Mr. C. W. Lepper was the original treasurer of the association.

The Ohio National bank was organized January 1, 1869, and opened for business February 22 of the same year. Robert Hanna was elected president, and on his retirement John McClymonds, who still occupies the position, succeeded him.

The People's Savings and Loan association, a West Side institution, was organized March 2, 1869. Daniel P. Rhodes was made president, and A. L. Worthington secretary and treasurer.

The South Cleveland Banking company was organized in June of 1879; the Savings and Trust company May 8, 1883; the Cleveland National bank May 21, 1883; and the Union National June 7, 1884. These are of such recent date as to warrant their disposal in a paragraph.

CLEARING-HOUSE ASSOCIATION.

It took Cleveland fifty-two years to work up from its first bank to a clearing-house association, yet the latter was finally formed on the twenty-eighth of December, 1858, its purpose being "to effect at one place, and in the most economical and safe manner, the daily exchange between the several associated banks and bankers; the maintenance of uniform rates for eastern exchange, and the regulation of what descriptions of funds shall be paid and received in the settlement of business." The following banks and bankers subscribed to the articles of association: Commercial Branch bank, Merchants' Branch bank, Bank of Commerce, City bank, Forest City bank, Wason, Everett & Co., H. B. and H. Wick & Co., Whitman, Standart & Co., Fayette Brown. Mr. T. P. Handy was elected

president, and has held the office continuously to the present day. Mr. W. L. Cutter of the Merchants' was chosen secretary, and Messrs. T. P. Handy, Lemuel Wick and Fayette Brown composed the executive committee.

A REMARKABLE RECORD.

While there is much that might be said of all the above named organizations, and while the great majority of Cleveland banks have been managed with fidelity, honesty and satisfactory results to their stockholders, it is permissible to make special reference to one that has made a remarkable record—especially as it was founded on what was in those days an experiment in western finances. I refer to the Cleveland Society for Savings, which differs from most banks and savings and loan associations in that it has no capital and that the profits go to the depositors. Early in 1849, Charles J. Woolson, the father of Miss Woolson, who has won such deserved fame in literature, was talking with Mr. S. H. Mather, then a member of the Cleveland bar, and in the course of their conversation Mr. Woolson suggested to Mr. Mather that an institution modeled after some then in existence in the east would be a benefit to Cleveland, and especially to its poor. The idea abided with Mr. Mather, and after he had given it proper consideration he consulted with other gentlemen, and the result was that a charter was procured and the bank opened for business. Its beginning was humble. Part of a room but twenty feet square, in the rear of the Merchants' bank, was secured, the rest of it being used as desk room by others. The first deposit was made by Mrs. D. E. Bond, in the sum of ten dollars. The business gradually increased and, after the objection the public holds to all experiments had worn off, the success of the society was a fixed fact. In the fall of 1857 it became necessary to remove to a more commodious building, and that recently occupied by Everett, Weddell & Co., on the corner of Bank and Frankfort streets, was secured. In 1867 the new block on the public square, which the society had built, was completed and moved into. The growth of business has been steady, and at present its line of deposits amounts to the enormous sum of twelve million dollars. There are only six banks in New York city and two in Brooklyn of this character that can show a business like this, while there is not one on the same plan west of the Hudson river that can equal it. There are but four banks of the kind in Ohio, the other three being located at Cincinnati, Springfield and Marietta. While the deposits of the Cleveland society amount to \$11,755,222.92, that of

the next highest, in Springfield, is only \$528,298.95. I take these figures from the last annual report of the auditor of state. This result shows two things—wise management on the part of those within the bank, and the greatest confidence on the part of the great public without.

The presidents of the society, in the order of their holding office, have been as follows: John W. Allen, F. W. Bingham, W. A. Otis, S. J. Andrews, W. A. Otis, Samuel Williamson, S. H. Mather. Mr. Williamson died January 12, 1884; and Mr. Mather, who had been in the bank from its beginning, was elected to his position. To him belongs a large share of the institution's great success, and in his hands the high standard of the past will be maintained as one of the certain things of the future.

A COLLECTION OF RELICS.

The banks of Cleveland have had rather less than their share of failures, burglaries and defalcations, although a few relics of that character have been discovered in the overhauling of dusty records and the jogging of slow memories that search for the above facts has entailed. The first discovery partakes more of the character of rumor than the hard solidity of historic fact. It pictures the senior Leonard Case, in the ancient days when the Commercial Bank of Lake Erie was housed in a portion of his dwelling, sitting on his hearthstone with a hatchet ready to brain an industrious burglar who was working his way in with a spade; but as no use was made of the hatchet, it is to be supposed that this primitive burglar was warned away, or found the task greater than the stake. Or perhaps the bank broke up before he completed the tunnel and he desisted lest possession of the bank should make him responsible for its liabilities. Of a more definite character is the attack made by determined men on the old Canal bank, which exploded into thin air in the early part of November, 1854. Those were exciting times to men who held the paper money then afloat, and who made haste to get rid of it in fear that it might turn to worthless paper in their hands. So common was the explosion of weak concerns that the *Plain Dealer*, in those days of Gray, dug from its cellar a relic of the "hard cider campaign," a cut of a log cabin being blown up, and published it from day to day over the announcement of each crash. The evaporation of the Canal bank was not unexpected, and I read in the *Herald* of November 9, 1854, the calm announcement that "the failure of this bank excited no surprise in this city." "During the day," adds this unmoved chronicler—suggesting the early work of J. H. A. Bone—"a crowd was

about the door, where a force of police were stationed to prevent any disturbance." The *Plain Dealer* of the same date seems to have found some indorsement of its financial doctrines in this and like failures, as it treats the Canal wreck in a cheerful strain. It says:

About the Canal bank yesterday there was not only a large but a very interested crowd. The bill holders who got the gold for their notes were arrayed in smiles, and contrasted most ludicrously with the grim-visaged depositors who got nothing.

Isaac L. Hewitt, H. W. Huntington and W. J. Gordon were appointed assignees, but objection being raised to Mr. Huntington, he gave place to the late E. F. Gaylord. There seems to have been no headlong rush for the position of assignee, as it was offered in succession to F. T. Backus, P. Chamberlain, H. N. Gates and George Mygatt, and as often declined. There was great excitement for a few days, and the old men of Cleveland tell the tale in a Homeric strain, wherein lies an intimation that though these modern days have their share of stirring events, they are not such days as saw the fall of Troy or Doctor Ackley's raid on the outer and inner walls of the Canal bank vault. But even Ackley had his predecessor. On the day preceding the failure, a fresh-water captain named Gummage had deposited one thousand dollars, the result of his season's labor and danger on the great lakes. When told that his cash was swallowed up he became desperate and proceeded to a desperate remedy. Arming himself he entered the bank and demanded his money. When it was refused he said: "It is all the money I own in the world, and I will have it or I will kill you." He meant what he said, and looked his meaning, and was naturally given his cash. No one ever proceeded against him in law or otherwise.

Dr. H. C. Ackley, who was as determined as he was eccentric, had a personal deposit in the Canal bank, but laid no claim to it beyond what was open to the other victims. He was, however, one of the trustees of the State Insane Asylum at Newburgh, and had placed in the bank nine thousand dollars of the public funds. On the announcement of the suspension he demanded this sum, which he did not get. He hurried to the sheriff's office and swore out a writ of attachment. Sheriff M. M. Spangler proceeded to the bank, which was near the American house, and in the building now occupied by the *Leader*, and took possession. "The keys of the vault being refused him," says the *Herald*, "he proceeded to break open the vault. The excitement both inside and outside the bank was intense while the work proceeded; but to the credit of our citizens,

no signs of riot were displayed. Dr. Ackley has a heavy deposit of his own, but has procured an attachment only on behalf of the state, claiming that unless its money is procured the asylum at Newburgh cannot be opened for more than a year, and that during that time one hundred insane patients will be deprived of treatment."

Sheriff Spangler construed his duty to be the getting of the money, and when he found that brick walls and iron doors opposed the entrance of the law, he summoned several stalwart deputies, and under the guardianship of Dr. Ackley, who is said by ancient rumor to have threatened to shoot the first man who interfered, laid down such lusty blows as had not been heard since Richard of the Lion Heart drove his battle-axe against the castle gates of Front-de-Boeuf. Sledge hammers swung in the air and came down on the brickwork with a crash; clouds of lime and mortar filled the room. The population of Cleveland could almost have been enumerated from those who crowded on the scene. The officers and clerks of the bank looked on, helpless to prevent and in no position to aid. Mr. F. T. Backus, part owner of the building and attorney of the bank, rushed in and ordered a halt, on the grounds of trespass. The sheriff replied that he had come for the money, and it was a part of his official oath to get it. The blows still fell, and at one o'clock the outer wall of the vault was broken and measures set on foot to break into the burglar-proof safe. Truces were held from time to time, lawyers rushed here and there with messages, advice and papers; but the sheriff knew no law but that of his writ, and had but one purpose, which was to get at the cash. Finally, late at night, to save the safe from damage, the assignees gave up the keys, and the hard-earned money was carried away by the sheriff. There were \$400 in gold and \$1,460 in bills. The one hundred insane of northern Ohio had their shelter for the year; and, if the stories of the day were well founded, the depositors were not the worse off for it, as very small returns ever went to them for their claims.

Sheriff Spangler, who, in a hale old age laughs over the attack and the wordy defense set up against it, tells me that the excitement was intense, and the affair talked about for weeks afterward. He was threatened with prosecution for damages by Mr. Backus, the attorney for the bank, and by its cashier and assignees, but the more they talked the more determined was he to gain his point. By the time he reached the burglar-proof safe he had been scolded and argued at until his patience was gone, and he was making determined preparations to drill into the safe and blow it

to pieces when discretion gained the day with the assignees and they handed over the keys.

In this quest for banking information I have been met by frequent remarks from those long in the business touching a certain so-called "crow-bar law," the memory of which seems sufficient even yet to call forth indignation and scorn. I can best describe it in the following extract from a speech made by Mr. T. P. Handy at a banquet given in his honor, May 15, 1882, by the directors of the Merchants' National, on the completion of his fiftieth year in the banking business. He said:

This law imposed a tax both on loans and capital, and was resisted by the banks. It was made the duty of the county treasurer, if not paid, to enter the vaults of the banks by force, if necessary, and seize sufficient money to satisfy the claims. Our friend, George C. Dodge, was the county treasurer, in 1854, and faithfully performed his official duty. The amount claimed was some twenty-five thousand eight hundred dollars, being nearly fifteen per cent. of its capital. This was taken by the treasurer from the vault, the bills having first been marked, and were by him deposited in the vaults of the Cleveland insurance company for safe keeping. In the meantime a suit of replevin was commenced in the United States court at Columbus, and the United States marshal forcibly entered the vault of the insurance company by night, seized the money, which was identified, and brought the same into court. The law was declared unconstitutional, and the bank settled the claim by the payment of some three thousand dollars.

There are many other exciting events that bank men relate as they run over the years in memory, but the most of them are incidental and not a part of chronological bank history. Of such character are the open-day theft of a large sum of money from the Savings and Loan association, and its subsequent discovery under a pile of lumber on the Flats, the Buell and Stanley defalcations, the decoying of Mr. Samuel Williamson to the door of the Society for Savings, and the theft, during his absence, of a box of valuable bonds, which were never recovered, and the more recent descent on the bonds of Mr. Dan P. Eells, and their recovery. The majority of these are of recent date, and though exciting and important events, are not cast far enough into the past to be resurrected and placed among the revelations of history.

J. H. KENNEDY.

BIOGRAPHIC.

FRANCIS GLASS, A. M.

Among the remarkable characters who, at an early day, drifted on the great wave of emigration to the west, none is more interesting than Francis Glass, the author of a 'Life of Washington' in Latin. He was born in Londonderry, Ireland, in 1790, and came with his parents to America when he was eight years old. His father was engaged as a teacher at Mount Airy college, Philadelphia, where he remained until his death. Francis Glass was educated at the University of Pennsylvania, where he was graduated in his nineteenth year. He adopted the profession of teaching and taught in Germantown, Pennsylvania, and at Princeton, New Jersey.* He married young, and, pressed by the wants of an increasing family, and, no doubt, lured by the glowing descriptions of the beauty and fertility of the Miami country, in which the newspapers of the day abounded, he emigrated, in 1817, to Ohio, in the hope of improving his fortunes. Better adapted to a professor's chair in a college than to the rude school houses of the west, he met with no great success as a teacher. He removed from place to place, teaching the first school in Clinton county, Ohio, and at various times in Warren, Miami and Montgomery counties. There is something pathetic in the story of this enthusiastic and guileless scholar, who, amid the hardships of pioneer life and the bitter privations of poverty, never for a moment lost interest in, or love for classical study. Mr. J. P. Reynolds, one of his pupils, who was instrumental in securing the publication of the 'Life of Washington' in Latin, in an introduction to that work, gives a graphic description of a pioneer school house and of its teacher, Francis Glass. Wishing to pursue classi-

*For these facts I am indebted to the grandson of Francis Glass, the Reverend John O. Pierce, pastor of the Presbyterian church, at Frankfort, Ohio.

cal studies, and having heard of Glass as a competent teacher, Mr. Reynolds sought him out. He says:

The school house now rises fresh on my memory. The building was a low log cabin, with a clapboard roof, but indifferently lighted—all the light of heaven found in this cabin came through apertures made on each side of the logs, and these were covered with oiled paper to keep out the cold air, while they admitted the dim rays. The seats or benches were of hewn timber, resting on upright posts placed in the ground to keep them from being overturned by the mischievous urchins who sat on them. In the centre was a large stove, between which and the back part of the building stood a small desk, without lock or key, made of rough plank, over which a plane had never passed, and behind this desk sat Professor Glass when I entered his school. There might have been forty scholars present; twenty-five of these were engaged in spelling, reading and writing, a few in arithmetic, a small class in English grammar, and a half-dozen like myself had joined the school for the benefit of his instructions in Greek and Latin. The moment that he learned that my intention was to pursue the study of the languages with him, his whole soul appeared to beam from his countenance. He commenced in a strain which in another would have appeared pedantic, but which, in fact, was far from being so in him.

The following imperfect sketch, drawn entirely from memory, may serve to give some idea of his peculiar manner: "Welcome to the shrine of the muses, my young friend, *Salve! Xaigel!* The temple of the Delphian God was originally a laurel hut, and the muses deign to dwell, accordingly, even in my rustic abode. *Non humilem domum fastidiunt, umbrosamve ripam.* Here, too, the winds hold converse, 'Eurus and Caurus and Argestes loud,' and the goddess of the Castalian fountain, the daughters of golden-haired Mnemosyne, are sometimes silent with the lyre, '*cithara tacentes,*' that they may catch the sweet murmurs of the harp of Æolus. Here, too, I, the priest of the muses, *Musarum sacerdos,* sing, to the young of either sex, strains before unheard, *Virginibus puerisque canto.* Plutus, indeed, that blind old deity, is far away; and far away let him be, for well has the prince of comic poets styled him a 'filthy, crooked, miserable, wrinkled, bald and toothless creature!'"

To write a 'Life of Washington' in Latin was the darling object of Glass' life, and that he was able to accomplish it under such unfavorable circumstances is certainly one of the curiosities of literature. He won the esteem and warm friendship of Mr. Reynolds, who furnished him the means to remove to Dayton, in 1823. There the 'Life' was completed and the manuscript delivered to Mr. Reynolds, who agreed to assist him in finding a publisher. Proposals were printed in the Cincinnati and Dayton papers to publish the work by subscription, but nothing came of it. Having a file of the *Dayton Watchman* in my possession covering the time of his residence here, I find that he gratified his literary instincts by inserting lengthy advertisements in that paper of his school and of his 'Life of Washington.' Shortly after his arrival this characteristic advertisement appeared:

The subscriber having completed the biography of Washington, which had engaged the greater portion of his attention and solicitude for the past two years, and being constrained to remain in Dayton for some months for the purpose of correcting the proof-sheets of said work, respectfully announces that his school is now open for students of either sex who may wish to prosecute classical, mathematical or English studies. As respects his literary attainments or standing as a scholar, he refers to the faculty of arts of any university or college in the United States.

Proof-reading was only the too sanguine anticipation of the poor author, as the work was not published until 1835, after his death. It would seem that school teaching in Dayton at that early day was not without its annoyances, for an advertisement appears in the *Watchman* denouncing the conduct of certain mischievous boys, who in the night had removed an out-house from his school premises, as "ungentlemanly and unsoldierly." This friend, Mr. Reynolds, removed from Ohio and was absent several years, and on his return found that Francis Glass had died. In the meantime Mr. Reynolds had acquired considerable literary reputation as the author of a 'Voyage of the United States' Frigate Potomac, 1831, 1834,' and by contributions to the Knickerbocker Magazine, was able to induce Harper Brothers, New York, to publish the long neglected 'Life of Washington.' It appeared in 1835 and forms an openly printed volume of two hundred and twenty-three pages. That such a work in Latin should have been written by a country school-teacher, remote from libraries and compelled to teach an ungraded school for his daily bread, reflects the highest as honor on its author. Competent scholars have pronounced the style characterized by terseness and strength, and the Latin classical. It was introduced in many schools as a text-book, and the writer remembers its use, in 1836, in the Dayton academy. It is now out of print and rare, but a copy may be found in the Dayton public library. Francis Glass died, in Dayton, in 1825, in his thirty-fifth year, and was buried in the city graveyard, which has long ceased to be used for burial purposes, and is now occupied by residences. The remains of all unknown persons were removed by the city to Woodland cemetery, where he now sleeps in an unmarked grave.

We may smile at the eccentricities of Francis Glass, but we must respect him for his fine scholarship, his patriotism and his kindliness of heart. All honor to the memory of the pioneer scholar and teacher, who in another age and under other circumstances might have become a Casaubon or a Scaliger.

ROBERT W. STEELE.

THOMAS S. BECKWITH.

No faithful account can be taken of the business development of Cleveland without including the late Thomas S. Beckwith in the list of those who laid the foundations of its present success and strength. He has left behind him a lasting and honorable record in the great mercantile house he founded, and in the respect and love with which his memory is held by those who stood near to him in business or private life. His character was of that quality which could stand any test of public or private scrutiny, yet such was his innate modesty that he never invited the attention of the world nor made a bid for fame by any act that took him beyond the business walks in which he tried to do the duty of a man during the years through which he was under a man's responsibility. In the investigation which this sketch demanded in order that it might give the sober colors of truth, I met one who knew Mr. Beckwith well through many years, and this is what he said of him—every word seeming to come from his heart:

I saw him in the close range of an every day business life. He was charitable by nature, and it was a part of his religion to show that charity in his life. He was honest in the very bone and fiber of his being, and in his business life there was but one thing that would do, and that was to tell the truth and nothing but the truth. He never deceived a customer, and he would allow none of his employés to deceive. I don't believe he ever uttered a word or held a thought that was not high-minded and pure. One of his fundamental ideas was that religion and the house of worship should be free, and when he died he left a fund for the building of a free church—now erected on Fairmount street, and called Beckwith chapel—in which those who have no church home can be supplied. When it becomes self-supporting the income of the fund is to be devoted to the erection of another church, and when that in turn becomes self-supporting, another is to be built, and so his gift will go on in an endless fruition of good.

A record like his is well worthy to be preserved.

Mr. Beckwith was born in Lyme, Connecticut, on January 11, 1821. His father was a prominent manufacturer, and stood very high as a man of unimpeachable integrity. In 1825 he removed to Glens Falls, New York, where he soon died. In a few years the mother made her home in Granville, New York, where the son worked on the farm and attended school until 1835, when he entered upon the mercantile career in which he won such eminent success. He entered a store at Brownville, Jefferson county, where he remained four years, and in October, 1839, he came to Cleveland; in the employ of Alexander Sackett, who kept a general store on



J. H. Breckinridge

Engr. by H. E. Hill & Son, New York.

Superior street, on the very spot which Mr. Beckwith afterwards occupied as the head of the carpet house of Beckwith, Sterling & Co. He remained with Mr. Sackett for two years, and then entered the employ of P. M. Weddell & Co. By this time his business experience and resources were such as to justify a venture on his own account, and he became a partner in the firm of T. S. & W. E. Beckwith & Co. The firm continued with success for a number of years, and was succeeded by that of T. S. Beckwith & Co. In 1857, the size of the city and the extensions of business seeming to warrant, Mr. Beckwith withdrew from the establishment and opened a store for the exclusive sale of carpets, it being the first one of that nature ever established in Cleveland. In five years the firm of Beckwith & Sterling was formed and entered on its career of success. With the addition of new partners as the business increased, the old firm was continued until Mr. Beckwith's death. The quarters on Superior street being outgrown, the firm, in 1874, removed to the great rink building on Euclid avenue, where its successor is now located.

Mr. Beckwith gave the greater portion of his life to this house, but it did not cover all his business relations in Cleveland. He was a partner in the white lead manufactory of J. H. Morley & Co., and also one of the owners and directors of the Cleveland Gas Light and Coke company. Those who describe his business life speak of him as of the most exact honesty, the possessor of a judgment of great soundness, firm in his decisions when made, and quick and prompt in carrying his ideas into action. He was courteous in his treatment of all, and one of his most positive theories was that the poor should have the same treatment that was accorded the rich, and that no advantage of trade should be given the latter that was not allowed the former as well. He cultivated this idea in the minds of his employes, and saw that it was lived up to in the establishment under his control. To this course, added to a perfect truth-telling in regard to the quality and value of goods, he attributed much of his business success. He won the confidence of the public from the first, and held it to the last. He was always active and useful in religious circles, and was one of the founders of the Second Presbyterian church and one of its elders for many years. Any cause of philanthropy or good morals found in him an earnest and consistent friend, ready with the loan of his time or the gift of his money. His heart was always in the Sunday-school work, and the good that he did during the twenty years he gave to the superintendency of the

Bethel Mission Sunday-school can never be measured in this world. It can only be found in the lives of the thousands of poor, and ignorant, and forsaken boys and girls who were under his care and teaching. Perhaps he has, in these after years of reward and rest, been able to discover some portion of it, and to see the seed sown in such stony places, go not altogether to waste, but bear a return that he did not even hope for in those years of quiet sowing. He was one of the active supporters of the Bethel church, and in it he saw an example, so far as his influence could make it, of a free church for the poor. It was also one of the duties he imposed upon himself all through life, to aid the young men he met in the walks of business or elsewhere, to enter upon and hold fast to a pure and manly life. He has helped many in this way, and his counsel and advice were always theirs when they felt the need of it or cared to ask it.

In 1867 Mr. Beckwith gave himself a vacation from the close attention to business, and spent some five or six months in travel in the old world. Switzerland, Turkey, the Crimea, Palestine, Alexandria and other points in Egypt engaged his attention, and he came home with a mind filled with the knowledge that a keen eye had gained of the habits and modes of life, the education and the commercial developments of these old lands. It may be of interest to mention that this trip was made on the Quaker City, which trip and ship were afterwards made famous by Mark Twain in that remarkable, if not altogether satisfactory and reliable book, the 'Innocents Abroad.'

After his return, and until the later part of 1875, Mr. Beckwith still gave his attention to business, but was not compelled to devote himself as assiduously to it as in the early days of trial. In the year above mentioned the trouble, Bright's disease, that had been hanging over him for some years, made more determined inroads, and compelled him to relinquish labor, and confined him more and more to his home. His strength gradually gave way, and on the twenty-fifth of March, 1876, he gave up the struggle and entered into his well earned rest. His death was lamented all through the community as that of a citizen and friend who could be illy spared, and many were the public and private expressions of sorrow and of sympathy with the bereaved wife and children. His place in life had been nobly filled, and the words said above him by eloquent lips found an echo in many hearts.

Mr. Beckwith was married in 1849 to Sarah Oliphant of Granville, Washington county, New York—a noble-hearted and sweet-mannered

lady who, in all his labors and trials, was a helpmeet indeed. She survived him and gave to their four children the guidance and care which he was no longer permitted to give. She still lives, and so far as in her power lies, carries on the good work, and continues the record of benevolence, that he so well began.

CORRESPONDENCE.

*GEORGE PLUMER, "THE FIRST WHITE CHILD BORN IN PENNSYLVANIA WEST OF THE ALLEGHANY MOUNTAINS" UNDER BRITISH DOMINION.

A friend occasionally sends me a copy of your paper for its articles on the history of your old city and its vicinity. That of May 1, in an interesting sketch of "Newbury, Oldtown," preliminary to the coming 250th anniversary celebration, mentions "the first white child born in Pennsylvania, west of the Alleghany mountains." This was the Hon. George Plumer; but as neither your paper nor Coffin's "History of Newbury" contains further reference to this child, a brief relation of the circumstances connected with the event may be interesting to some of your readers.

Jonathan Plumer, a descendant of Francis and Ruth Plumer, was born in Newbury, April 13, 1724. June 6, 1744, he married Mehitable Herriman. He continued to reside in Newbury until after the death of his wife, which occurred about 1749 or 1750. Her death was such an affliction that he decided to seek relief in a change of scene, and he eventually settled and married his second wife at or near Old Town, Maryland, not many miles from Fort Cumberland. In 1755 he acted as a commissary in Braddock's expedition against Fort Du Quesne. The defeat of this army compelled Jonathan Plumer and his wife to take refuge in Fort Cumberland, where their eldest child, William, was born, in 1755. This William was the father of the late Rev. William Swan Plumer, D.D. In 1758 Jonathan Plumer, tradition says, was in the army under General Forbes when it took possession of Fort Du Quesne, and changed its name to Pittsburgh. Soon after this, Colonel George Croghan obtained a grant from the Indians of fifteen hundred acres of land on the southeast side of the Alleghany river, extending from Two-mile run

* From Newburyport Herald.

up to the Narrows. Jonathan Plumer became interested in this grant, and in the summer of 1761, "by permission of Colonel Henry Bouquet, he built a cabin and made many valuable improvements thereon." It was in that cabin, on the fifth of December, 1762, George Plumer was born—"the first white child born west of the Alleghany mountains under British dominion." He was named after Colonel George Croghan. Soon after the Revolutionary war, George Plumer married Margaret, the youngest daughter of Colonel Alexander Lowrey, a prominent, wealthy and influential Indian trader residing in Donegal, Lancaster county, Pennsylvania. George Plumer represented Westmoreland county in the Pennsylvania legislature in 1812, 1813, 1814, 1815 and 1817; he was elected to the 17th congress and re-elected to the 18th and 19th congress. He was long a ruling elder in the Presbyterian church. He died on his farm in Westmoreland county, Pa., June 8, 1843, leaving a large family of children and grandchildren of the most respectable character. His memory is perpetuated in Pittsburgh by an important street on the ground where he was born, now thickly covered with manufactories and other buildings.

ISAAC CRAIG.

Alleghany (Pittsburgh) May 20, 1885.

The following extracts are from the History of Westmoreland County, Pa.:

When Jonathan Plumer built his cabin all that region was in a state of transition. The claim of the British had not been acknowledged by France, and the territory was held by force of arms. Quebec had fallen the previous year, and the approaching end of French domination seemed certain, but the hopes and fears of the settlers kept them in continued anxiety and alarm.

At the last, on the twenty-first of January, 1763, intelligence was received in Philadelphia that on the third of the previous November preliminary articles of peace between France and England had been signed, and as speedily as the army express could

reach Fort Pitt, the announcement there was greeted with great joy and thanksgiving.

"This peace," says a writer in Mr. Craig's 'Olden Time,' "removed forever from our vicinity all fear of the arts and arms of the French."

Much concurrent testimony might be quoted to show that "British dominion" was dated by settlers and soldiers from the closing of the preliminary treaty, and as Jonathan Plumer's son George was born December 3 following, they said of him that, "he was the first white male child born 'to the westward of the Alleghenies' under British dominion."

*GENERAL LAFAYETTE'S VISIT TO PITTSBURGH.

More than a year ago I was appealed to, at different times, by several gentlemen to decide the date of Lafayette's visit to Pittsburgh. I informed them that the General arrived in Pittsburgh May 30 and departed June 1, 1825. To Mr. Marshall I gave a written statement to the same effect, with my authority for it. My attention has been called to two articles in the *Dispatch* of the 15th and 16th instants, which conflict with the foregoing dates. The first article, a report of an interview with a Mr. McDermott, is so much at variance with well-known historical facts that it is not worth noticing. The second, a communication from Rev. A. A. Lambing, has such an appearance of authenticity that I desire to show its exact value. It is as follows:

"The following entry, which I have copied from the baptismal register of 'Old St. Patrick's Church,' now kept at St. Paul's cathedral, will, I think, forever settle the question of Lafayette's visit to our city. It is number 421 of the entries of baptisms made by Father Maguire from the date of his taking charge of the congregation, and in the original Latin reads thus, with certain words supplied in parenthesis, which are found only at the beginning of the register, but which are necessary to complete the sense. It may further be remarked that the distinguished visitor gave the name, which is a part of his own, with that of Mr. Beelen added, a fact that strengthens the opinion that he was the guest of Mr. Beelen:

"4th Junii, (1825. Baptizatus est) Gibertus La Fayette de Beelen fil: (filius) Washington et Sara Fetterman, e fonte susceptus (est) Generali la Fayette. (CAROLUS B. MAGUIRE.)"

The translation would read:

"No. 421. June 4, 1825, was baptized Gilbert Lafayette Fetterman, son of Washington and Sarah Fetterman. He was received from the font by General Lafayette.

CHARLES B. MAGUIRE."

Niles' Weekly Register of Saturday, June 11, 1825, says:

"General Lafayette entered Pittsburgh on Monday,

* From the *Pittsburgh Commercial Gazette*.

last week, and was received in ample form and with the kindest attention. He departed Wednesday for Erie."

From this it is evident that Lafayette arrived in Pittsburgh on Monday, May 30, and departed Wednesday, June 1, and could not have been present at a baptism in Pittsburgh on the fourth of June unless he returned here. I therefore quote from *Niles' Weekly Register* of June 18:

"General Lafayette arrived at Buffalo in the steamboat Superior, from Dunkirk, on the fourth inst. and was received in a very handsome manner."

As I have never seen a file of a Pittsburgh paper for 1825, and have not been able to lay my hands on my copy of *Levasseur's* account of Lafayette's visit, I wrote to Fred. D. Stone, Esq., librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, and to George G. Barnum, Esq., corresponding secretary of the Buffalo Historical society, on the subject. Their replies are so interesting that I take the liberty of publishing them:

LAFAYETTE'S INTERVIEW WITH RED JACKET.

HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF PENNSYLVANIA, }
PHILADELPHIA, June 19, 1885. }

Isaac Craig, Esq.:

DEAR SIR:—You are quite correct regarding the dates of Lafayette's visits to Pittsburgh and Buffalo. The *United States Gazette* gives a long account of his reception at Pittsburgh, which took place on Monday, May 30, 1825. He left the city on June 1. Poulson's *Advertiser* of June 13 says that he got to Buffalo on Saturday, June 4, and left the next day. The *United States Gazette* of June 23 speaks of his interview with Red Jacket at Buffalo, but the story is better told in 'Lafayette in America in 1824 and 1825; or, Journal of a Voyage to the United States,' by A. Lavasseur, secretary to General Lafayette during his journey. 2 vols., 12 mo. Philadelphia, 1829. From it I copy the following:

"There (at the Eagle tavern, Buffalo) the general received a great number of persons who desired to be particularly presented to him; then we had the pleasure of seeing an old Indian chief of the Senecas, who had acquired a great reputation for courage and eloquence, not only among his own people, but also among the whites, who called him *Red Jacket*. This extraordinary man, although much broken by time and intemperance, is still preserved, to a surprising degree, the exercise of all his faculties. He immediately recognized General Lafayette and recalled to his recollection that they had been together in 1784, at Fort Schuyler, where a great council had

been held, in which the interest of all the Indian nations, whether friendly or otherwise, who could have any relation to the United States, were settled. The general replied to him that he had not forgotten this circumstance, and demanded of him if he knew what had become of the young Indian who had so eloquently opposed the "burying of the tomahawk."

"He is before you," replied the son of the forest, with all the brevity of his expressive language.

"Time has much changed us," said the general to him, "for then we were young and active."

"Ah," exclaimed Red Jacket, "time has been less severe on you than on me; he has left you a fresh countenance and a head well covered with hair, whilst as for me—look," and, untying the handkerchief that covered his head, he showed us, with a melancholy air, that his head was entirely bald.

Do you think it would be of sufficient interest to our Pittsburgh friends to warrant our printing in the magazine the account of Lafayette's reception as given in the United States *Gazette*, from the Pittsburgh *Mercury* of June 1, 1825? Bell's clover-field and a number of long-forgotten places and persons are mentioned in it. Very truly yours,

FRED D. STONE.

ANOTHER ACCOUNT.

ROOMS OF THE BUFFALO HISTORICAL SOCIETY, }
BUFFALO, N. Y., June 19, 1885. }

Isaac Craig, Esq.:

DEAR SIR—Yours of the seventeenth inst. is at hand, and in reply to your inquiries would refer you to Crisfield Johnson's 'Centennial History' of Erie county, N. Y., 1876. At page 364 he says:

"Between the trial and execution of the Thayers occurred another event of widespread interest. For two or three days Captain Vosburgh's cavalry and Captain Rathburn's frontier guard were kept under arms at Buffalo, awaiting the arrival of the steamer Superior. A large concourse of citizens also assembled daily. At length, about two o'clock in the afternoon of June 4, the steamer came, and from it descended an old man of medium height, venerable appearance and mild demeanor. A great crowd saluted him with enthusiastic cheers, the soldiers presented arms and under their escort the stranger passed up Main street to Rathburn's Eagle tavern. It was Lafayette, the guest of the nation, returning from his western tour. In front of the hotel a handsome pavilion had been erected, where Judge Forward, on behalf of the people, welcomed the distinguished stranger in a brief address, to which the

general made an appropriate reply. Among those who had awaited his arrival was Red Jacket, proudly displaying his Washington medal. After the formal reception was over the orator was escorted on the stage by the committee. 'The Douglass in his hall,' says Turner, who was present, 'never walked with a firmer step or a prouder bearing.' He almost seemed to condescend to take notice of the gentleman from France. Their conversation was through an interpreter; in fact, Red Jacket always employed one on state occasions. In the course of it the treaty of Fort Stanwix was mentioned. Lafayette asked his interlocutor if he knew what had become of the young chief who at that time eloquently opposed the 'burying of the tomahawk.'"

"He stands before you," proudly and promptly replied the aged orator.

That evening the village was illuminated, and the next morning the general set out for the Falls, being escorted as far as Black Rock by the military.

I mail you Judge Sheldon's paper on the life and public services of Hon. Oliver Forward (who addressed Lafayette June 4, 1825, and you will find his speech on page 7) read before our society January 25, 1875. I could multiply testimony that he was received here June 4, 1825, but perhaps the above will be sufficient for your purpose. I am, yours truly,

GEORGE G. BARNUM,

Corresponding Secretary.

The above is certainly sufficient to prove beyond a doubt that Lafayette was not in Pittsburgh on the fourth of June, 1825, as the baptismal register quoted states.

I have conversed with many persons who recollect Lafayette very well, and every one of them told me he stopped at the hotel which formerly stood where the First National bank now stands.

ISAAC CRAIG.

Alleghany, June 20, 1885.

MARY HARRIS AND WHITE WOMAN'S CREEK.

To the Editor of the MAGAZINE OF WESTERN HISTORY:

DEAR SIR:—The following is an extract from the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for July, 1881:

"Harris: In early days in Ohio 'White Woman's Creek' was a branch of the Muskingum and a town on it was called 'White Woman's.'"

Gist in his journal under date of January, 1751.

says: 'This white woman was taken away from New England when she was not above ten years old by the French and Indians. She is now upwards of fifty, has an Indian husband and several children. Her name is Mary Harris.'

Can any one tell whence she was taken, or anything about her?"

C. C. BALDWIN."

Cleveland, Ohio.

To the foregoing query the following reply was received from Mr. Sheldon, an eminent antiquary of Deerfield:

DEERFIELD, MASS., July 2, 1881.

C. C. BALDWIN, Cleveland, Ohio:

DEAR SIR—In connection with your query in the *Register* for July, about Mary Harris, I would say: One *Mary Harris* was taken from Deerfield, February 29, 1704, when this town was sacked by the French and Indians. Of her age and parentage I have learned nothing, and cannot connect her with any Deerfield family. She never came back, and all I have learned of her subsequent history is found in the following extract from my note book:

From Robert Eastman's narrative. When at

Cohnewago (Cagnawagu?) lodged with the French captain's mother (an English woman named *Mary Harris*, taken captive when a child from Deerfield in New England), who told me she was my grandmother, and was kind. [Eastman was taken from near Oswego, March 26, 1756; returned November, 1757.]

I do not now remember when I saw Eastman's narrative, or whether it was in print. This is all the extract I made, and it doubtless was all the reference to *Mary Harris* it contained. The *Mary Harris* to whom Gist, in his 'Journal,' referred, as you quote, could hardly have been our *Mary Harris*, but the points of resemblance are remarkable if she is not.

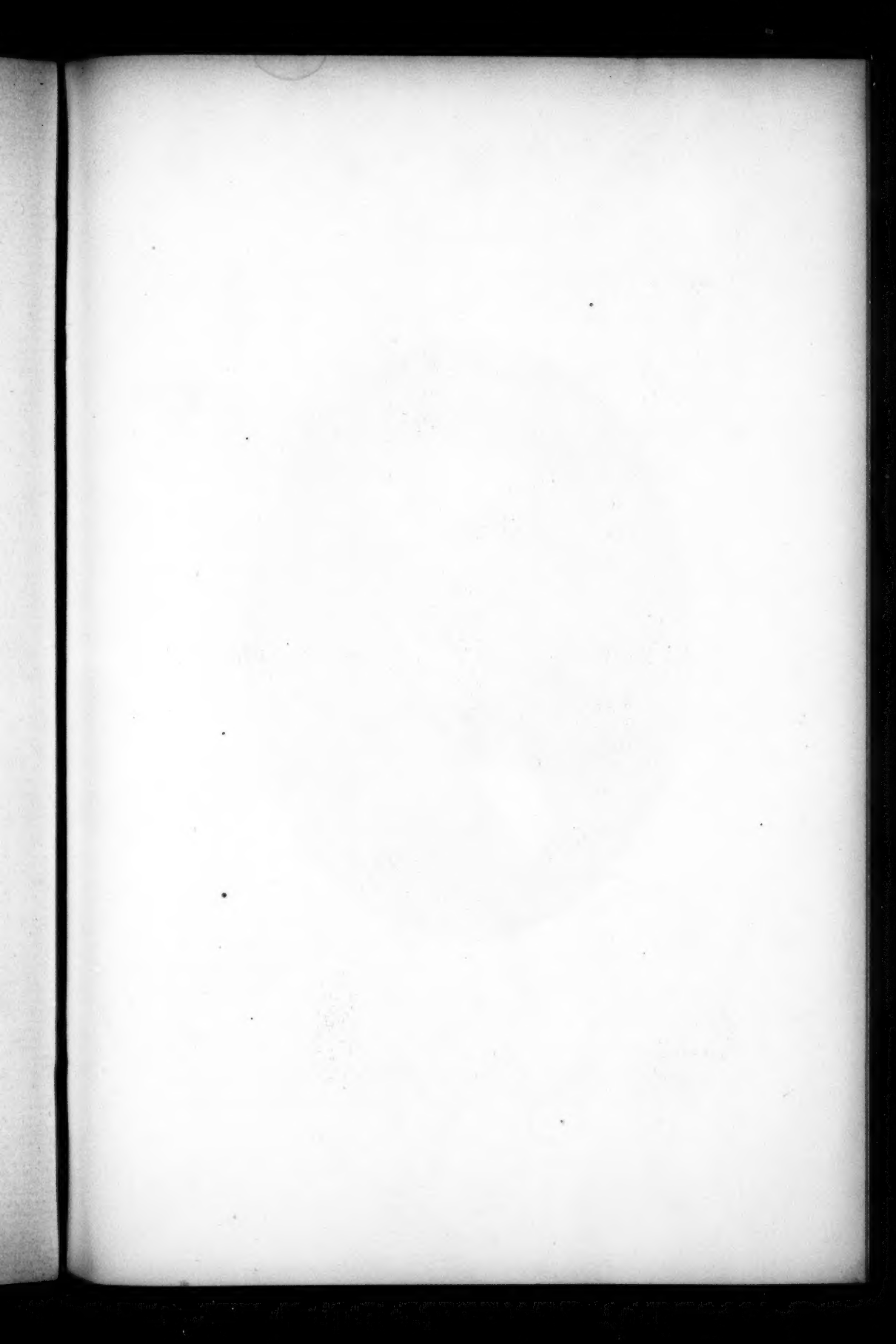
Will you be so kind as to let me know the results of your investigation, and oblige.

Yours very truly,

GEORGE SHELDON.

Notwithstanding the doubt of Mr. Sheldon, I believe *Mary Harris* of Deerfield was the *Mary Harris* of White Woman's creek. The statement that *Mary Harris* was the French captain's mother may have been like the one that she was Eastman's grandmother, a common, polite mode of speech.

C. C. BALDWIN.





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Henry Chisholm